

Landscapes Clear and Radiant

The Art of Wang Hui (1632–1717)

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



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Wen C. Fong, Chin-Sung Chang,
and Maxwell K. Hearn

Edited by Maxwell K. Hearn

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Director's Foreword

In a very real sense, this exhibition is the product of two generations of scholarship and curatorial practice. Its genesis is rooted in the 1960s, when Wen Fong, Edwards Sanford Professor of Art at Princeton University, began working with the New York collector Earl Morse to build a significant collection of Chinese painting. Professor Fong, who had long been engaged in the study of the seventeenth-century Chinese master Wang Hui along with other artists of the so-called Orthodox School, recognized that this group, although highly esteemed in China, was largely ignored by Western collectors. With Morse's support, in a few short years he was able to create the most significant concentration ever assembled in this country of Orthodox masters' art, now divided between Princeton University and the Metropolitan Museum.

The Morse-Fong initiative culminated in 1969 with the Princeton exhibition "In Pursuit of Antiquity," which was accompanied by a scholarly catalogue written by Princeton graduate student Roderick Whitfield and Professor Fong. Deeply committed to the importance of learning directly from objects, two years later Wen Fong accepted the consultative chairmanship of the Museum's Department of Asian Art (then called Far Eastern Art) as a way of expanding the scope of his collecting activities while at the same time retaining his professorship at Princeton. Since his retirement from Princeton in 1999 and the Metropolitan in 2000, he has remained extremely active, publishing on painting and calligraphy both here and in China. We are most grateful, therefore, that he agreed to return to the topic of Wang Hui by contributing the introductory essay to this catalogue.

Maxwell K. Hearn, who curated the exhibition as well as contributed to and edited the present volume, joined the Asian Art department in 1971. After a five-year hiatus to pursue graduate studies in Taiwan and at Princeton, he returned to the Metropolitan in 1979, the same year that the Museum acquired one scroll from *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour* by Wang Hui. Hearn chose that magnum opus as the subject of his doctoral thesis, and it is also the focus of his essay in this catalogue.

Subsequent acquisitions of Wang Hui's paintings from Mr. and Mrs. Wan-go Weng and from Marie-Hélène and Guy Weill have further enriched the Museum's holdings. However, it was another doctoral thesis, on Wang Hui's panoramic landscapes by Chin-Sung Chang, a graduate student of Yale professor Richard Barnhart (himself an early Fong student), that inspired Dr. Hearn to undertake a reexamination of Wang Hui's oeuvre. During a 2005–6 postdoctoral fellowship year at the Metropolitan, Dr. Chang began work on his important contribution to this catalogue. We are most grateful that he was able to complete his essay while simultaneously maintaining a busy teaching schedule at Seoul National University.

Although the scholarship for this study is the product of some forty years of research and collecting, the realization of the first "one-man" exhibition devoted to Wang Hui outside China would not have been possible without the unprecedented collaboration of an international group of lenders. It was their willingness to support the endeavor that made a detailed examination of the artist possible. We are immensely grateful to the directors and staffs of the National Palace Museum, Taipei; the Palace Museum, Beijing; the Shanghai Museum; the Princeton University Art Museum; the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco; the Joseph A. Skinner Museum, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts; the Mactaggart Art Collection, University of Alberta Museums, Edmonton; and The Cleveland Museum of Art; to the members of the P. Y. and Kinmay W. Tang family; and to the staffs of Arts Exhibitions China and the State Administration of Cultural Heritage for entrusting us with these treasures and for helping to expedite their loan.

The Museum is indebted to The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Foundation for its support of the exhibition. We also gratefully acknowledge the Joseph Hotung Fund and The Dillon Fund for their help in making this important publication possible.

Philippe de Montebello
Director
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Acknowledgments

One of the greatest pleasures of working on an exhibition and catalogue is the privilege of thanking all the talented, dedicated people, brought together by a love for art and for museums, who make such an endeavor possible.

Gathering works of art from venues across the country and around the globe is both a privilege and a responsibility, and I am profoundly grateful to the institutions that have entrusted their precious works to the Metropolitan Museum for this exhibition. In particular, I would like to thank Director Chou Kung-shin of the National Palace Museum, Taipei, and the members of her staff, especially Deputy Director Lin Po-t'ing, Chief Curator Wang Yao-t'ing and Curator Ho Ch'uan-hsing, both in the Department of Painting and Calligraphy, and Tzuan Huang in the Department of Publications; Director Zheng Xinmiao of the Palace Museum, Beijing, and his staff, particularly Executive Deputy Director Li Ji, Deputy Director of Foreign Affairs Chen Lihua, Fu Hongzhan, Head of the Department of Ancient Painting and Calligraphy, Li Shaoyi, Head of the American and European Section in the Foreign Affairs Department, and Zhang Ying in the Image Services office of the Information Department; Director Chen Xiejun of the Shanghai Museum and his staff, most notably Curator of Paintings and Calligraphy Shan Guolin and his colleague Ling Lizhong as well as Chief Cultural Exchange Officer Zhou Yanqun; Acting Director Rebecca Sender of the Princeton University Art Museum and Curator of Asian Art Cary Liu; retired Director Emily Sano and her successor, Jay Xu, and his staff at the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco; Director Timothy Rub of The Cleveland Museum of Art and Associate Curator of Chinese Art Anita Chung; Director Marianne Doezema and Registrar Linda Best at the Joseph A. Skinner Museum, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts; Janine Andrews, Executive Director, Museums and Collections Services, and Frannie Blondheim, Manager, Communications Program, University of Alberta; and members of the P. Y. and Kinmay W. Tang family. I also gratefully acknowledge the support of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage as well as that of Director Luo Bojian at Art Exhibitions China and his staff, specifically

Deputy Director Yang Yang and Shang Xiaoyun, for coordinating the loans from Beijing and Shanghai.

In addition to the loan of works of art, I have been the beneficiary of collegial support from a number of institutions that have contributed photographic images and permissions for the numerous comparative illustrations in this catalogue. Among the many persons who gave of their time in responding to our requests, I would like to mention with special gratitude Freda Murck, independent scholar, Beijing; Jun Tomita, Senior Manager of Collection Management, Tokyo National Museum; Haruka Takenami, Kurokawa Institute of Ancient Cultures; Yumino Takayuki, Curator, Osaka Municipal Museum of Art; Tina Hejtmanek, assistant to Brice Marden; and Ann Marie Kuder, assistant to Donald B. Marron. Finally, my thanks to Martin J. Heijdra, Chinese Bibliographer and Head of Public Services at The East Asian Library and the Gest Collection, Princeton University, who provided the catalogue with excellent reproductions of maps from the rare books in his care.

This project has been greatly facilitated by the extraordinary staff of professionals at the Metropolitan Museum under the leadership of Director Philippe de Montebello, whose strong advocacy of scholarly exhibitions and publications stands behind this endeavor. In addition, James C. Y. Watt, Brooke Russell Astor Chairman of the Department of Asian Art, has unstintingly backed this exhibition and its accompanying publication with both encouraging words and substantial departmental funds. I am also grateful to The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Foundation, the Joseph Hotung Fund, and The Dillon Fund for their support of the exhibition and catalogue.

The Museum's editorial team, expertly led by Publisher and Editor in Chief John P. O'Neill, has worked tirelessly to complete this complex publication. Margaret Donovan masterfully edited the texts and gracefully synchronized the efforts of the editorial team. Bruce Campbell crafted the elegant design, Jayne Kuchna meticulously carried out the bibliographic research, Elaine Luthy compiled the index, Anandaroop Roy produced the maps with great care and accuracy, Robert Weisberg supervised the typesetting, Christopher Zichello coordinated the

production, and General Manager of Publications Gwen Roginsky oversaw the color correction and printing at Nissha Printing in Kyoto, where Hiroyuki Nakao and Kazuo Nakae deserve special thanks for traveling to Taipei, Shanghai, and Beijing to make color corrections. Museum Photographers Oi-Cheong Lee and Rona Chang set a high standard with their superb images of the Metropolitan's artworks. In the Department of Asian Art, Associate Curator Zhixin Jason Sun was especially helpful in communicating with our counterparts in China; Administrator Judith Smith, Assistant Administrator Rebecca Grunberger, Collections Management Coordinator Hwai-ling Yeh-Lewis, Collections Management Associate Jillian Schultz, Collections Management Assistant Alison Clark, and volunteer Emily Silbergeld worked with good cheer and consummate professionalism on every aspect of the project; and Supervising Departmental Technician Beatrice Pinto, Senior Departmental Technician Imtikar Ally, and Departmental Technicians Lori Carrier and Luis Nuñez capably handled all the demands of the exhibition installation.

The catalogue was produced at the same time as loan agreements were being prepared and indemnification, insurance, and shipping arrangements made for the many loans that have so significantly enhanced both the exhibition and our understanding of Wang Hui's oeuvre. Here, too, the Metropolitan's professional staff has been extraordinary. I am particularly grateful to Assistant Counsel Kirstie Howard, Chief Registrar Aileen Chuk, and Martha Deese, Senior Assistant for Exhibitions and International Affairs, for their hard work.

Long before works of art entered the building, the expertise of many specialists was engaged in planning for their proper presentation: Naomi Takafuchi in Communications, Dan Kershaw, Sophia Geronimus, and Andrey Kostiw in Design, Lighting Designers Clint Coller and Rich Lichte, Pamela Barr in Editorial, Shaaron Marrero in Printing Services, Taylor Miller in Buildings, Joseph Loh in Education, and a number of colleagues in the Image Library, Website, Security, Visitor Services, and Merchandising departments, all coordinated by Manager for Special Exhibitions, Gallery Installations, and Design Linda Sylling and Assistant Manager

Patricia Gilkison. The high standards and excellent work of such colleagues are what make the Museum's exhibitions so exemplary.

Paintings from the collection and outside loans often require restoration or remounting prior to their exhibition. The Metropolitan is fortunate to have an expert East Asian Conservation team, including Conservator Yuan-Li Hou, who worked on several pieces for this exhibition with the assistance of Christine Lam.

Most of all, I am grateful for the scholarly contributions of my esteemed coauthors, Wen Fong, Chin-Sung Chang, and Shi-yee Liu.

In his dual capacity as Princeton professor (1954–99) and Metropolitan curator (1971–2000) and through his numerous publications, Wen Fong has done more than anyone to further understanding of Wang Hui in the West. During my studies and work under Wen's guidance, including the completion of a doctoral thesis on Wang Hui, I have benefited immensely from his insights, scholarship, and connoisseurship. There was no question, at the inception of this project, that a contribution from him was essential to any serious treatment of the subject. Wen's essay greatly enhances the level of discourse on Wang Hui's significance to Chinese art.

I first became acquainted with Dr. Chin-Sung Chang through his excellent Yale doctoral thesis on Wang Hui's panoramic landscapes. Impressed by his scholarship, I encouraged him to apply for a postdoctoral fellowship at the Metropolitan in hopes that we could work together on planning an exhibition. After Chin-Sung was awarded a full-year fellowship in 2005–6, he devoted a significant portion of his time here to formulating a basic outline for the project. Chin-Sung's essay, the core of the present catalogue, outlines Wang Hui's artistic development and his expanding network of artistic sources and patrons, which culminated in the artist's selection as the director of *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour* project. Chin-sung completed his writing after his appointment as assistant professor at Seoul National University. To simultaneously take up a new teaching position while completing a major manuscript is a tremendous challenge, and I am immensely grateful to him for his steadfast commitment.

Dr. Shi-yee Liu, Research Associate in the Department of Asian Art, has done the bulk of the work on the catalogue entries. In addition, she has reviewed translations in the essays, tracked down information for the captions, and has been an invaluable assistant in communicating with Chinese institutions regarding loan agreements and photography requests. Her meticulous work was corroborated by Zheng Wei, an independent scholar who was engaged to check all the Chinese texts in the entries.

Finally, gratitude goes to my wife, Vera, who in sharing life's adventures, traced with me in 1986

much of the Kangxi emperor's Southern Inspection Tour route as well as accompanying me on viewings of many of Wang Hui's paintings. Thanks, too, to our sons, Garrett and Alex, who at this writing are on their own exploratory tour of Beijing.

To all these dedicated people and many others too numerous to name, my heartfelt thanks. The merits of this publication arise from their hard work.

Maxwell K. Hearn
Douglas Dillon Curator
Department of Asian Art
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Lenders to the Exhibition

Asian Art Museum of San Francisco: cat. 6

Mactaggart Art Collection, University of Alberta
Museums, University of Alberta, Edmonton:
cat. 24

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York:
cats. 3, 8, 9, 15, 23

National Palace Museum, Taipei: cats. 10, 11, 12, 21,
25, 26

Palace Museum, Beijing: cats. 2, 5, 7, 20

Princeton University Art Museum, Princeton,
New Jersey: cats. 1, 4, 13, 14, 16

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Joseph A. Skinner Museum, Mount Holyoke
College, South Hadley, Massachusetts: cat. 22

P. Y. and Kinmay W. Tang Family Collection, on
loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art:
cat. 27

Preface

Hailed by the prominent scholar-artist Wang Shimin (1592–1680) as “the kind of painter who has not been seen for five hundred years,” Wang Hui (1632–1717) was widely regarded during his lifetime as a “painting sage” who had attained the Orthodox ideal of integrating all the styles of the Tang, Song, and Yuan dynasties (618–1368) in a Great Synthesis. Wang was acknowledged as the master landscape painter of his generation, and his stature was fully confirmed in 1691, when he was summoned to the capital to fulfill the first important imperial commission of the Manchu Qing dynasty (1644–1911). He had been selected to produce a pictorial record of the triumphant 1689 tour made by the Kangxi emperor (r. 1662–1722) from Beijing to the empire’s cultural heartland, the Yangzi Delta region of southeastern China. Wang’s successful completion of this project culminated in an audience with the emperor, during which Kangxi bestowed upon him the encomium “Landscapes Clear and Radiant.”

Wang’s having been assigned the task of documenting this journey suggests that he was an accomplished recorder of the natural world, but nothing could be further from the truth. Landscape painting in later Chinese art was not rooted in mimesis, nor was inspiration dependent upon the observation of actual scenery. In the words of the late Ming artist and theorist Dong Qichang (1555–1636), “If one considers the uniqueness of scenery, then a painting is not the equal of real landscape; but if one considers the wonderful excellence of brush and ink, then landscape can never equal painting.” Dong’s early Qing followers, most notably Wang Hui and his mentors, Wang Shimin and Wang Jian (1598–1677), are known today as the Orthodox, or True Heritage (Zhengzong), School. Instead of basing their art on direct encounters with nature, these artists strove to transform their own styles in order to achieve a spiritual resonance with a canonical lineage of great masters. This transformation required that they imitate nature “not in appearance but in operation” by channeling its creative energy (*qishi*) through forceful brushwork and dynamic compositional structures. In this way, Orthodox painters did not merely reinvigorate the past, they reinvented it.

This approach to painting is analogous to that adopted by calligraphers. Students begin by imitating

a specific set of earlier models, then gradually expand their repertoire until they are able to incorporate stylistic influences from various masters, eventually arriving at a personal synthesis that is uniquely their own. For Orthodox painters, each great master was similarly envisioned as a set of “ideographic form-types”—foliage and texture patterns and compositional solutions—that defined that artist’s style. The competent replication of these solutions was only the beginning, the ultimate goal being the attainment of what Dong Qichang called a “spiritual correspondence with the model through creative metamorphosis.”

Wang Hui’s purpose was thus neither to “describe” a real place nor to “replicate” an earlier prototype. And not until his imperial commission was he concerned with fulfilling a narrative or iconographic program. Instead, Wang engaged in an inventive dialogue with the past, evoking the stylistic personae of earlier masters while making works that were distinctly his own. Acts of supreme self-confidence, Wang’s paintings not only pay homage to his gifted predecessors but also demand to be judged in comparison with them.

Traditional accounts of Wang Hui present him as a virtual reincarnation of the ancient masters, yet in modern times this tribute has not been viewed as a compliment. As revolutionary China increasingly rejected its past and idealized the new, Wang’s art was criticized as backward-looking and circumscribed by convention. Some Western scholars have adopted the same view, labeling Wang’s paintings as “art-historical art” and disparaging the Orthodox masters as mere copyists whose works only restate earlier pictorial ideas. But Wang Hui’s art is not merely derivative. His sources are too diverse, and he combines disparate stylistic influences in totally new and inspired ways. Like a master calligrapher whose writing is a personal synthesis of earlier models, Wang makes each “performance” spontaneous and fresh. So while his sources are recognizable, his evocations are never dry or stale; they always depart from their model by ingeniously modifying the composition, reworking the structure, and revitalizing the brushwork in ways that are sophisticated and bold. Cognoscenti take pleasure not only in recognizing Wang’s artistic references but in

marveling at how he was able to transform and even surpass his models.

This exhibition and catalogue seek to reassess Wang Hui's reputation by tracing his development as an artist from his late twenties until his late sixties—the most creative period of a career that continued for another twenty years. They track Wang's meteoric rise from his precocious youth, during which he was schooled by his family, local artists, and the Orthodox masters Wang Shimin and Wang Jian, through his growing fame among prominent collectors in the Yangzi Delta region, to national recognition and elevation to the leading artist of his day with the commission to depict the emperor's tour. Kangxi had embarked on the tour as part of an effort to renew and reintegrate a society fragmented by the collapse of the Ming dynasty and the subsequent conquest of the Chinese homeland by the Manchus. In a way, Wang Hui's ambition to achieve a Great Synthesis of earlier styles and modes of expression represented a similar goal. Seen from this perspective, the artist's achievement was no less successful

than the emperor's, and it had a similar effect. Just as Kangxi established patterns of rulership that both the Yongzheng (r. 1723–35) and Qianlong (r. 1736–95) emperors perpetuated, Wang established a paradigm for court artists and literati alike that was imitated and elaborated upon but never surpassed.

To appreciate the art of Wang Hui is to grasp the fundamentally Chinese view of history as a spiral in which every age produces thinkers, poets, and artists who are inspired and renewed through creative reexamination of the works of past paragons. Keenly aware of an artistic heritage that extended back hundreds of years, Wang Hui sought to be a worthy successor to a lineage of masters, all of whom embodied a single truth, even though each expression of that truth was unique. Wang saw himself as an inheritor of that mantle. He was not enchained by the past, but found liberation in reenvisioning its fundamental verities and engaging with it as an equal.

Maxwell K. Hearn

Landscapes Clear and Radiant

The Art of Wang Hui (1632–1717)

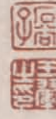
善文敏常與予論丹青家具文秀之質
而渾厚未之得道勁之力而風韻不全至
如石谷衆美畢具可謂毫髮無遺恨
矣此圖深沈澹遠元氣靈通尤稱傑作
良可寶也 姜水王鑑題



乙卯暮春傲梅花庵主夏山圖請正

癸卯先生

烏目山中樵者王蒙



Wang Hui and Repossessing the Past

Wen C. Fong

In 1691 the early Qing Orthodox School painter Wang Hui (1632–1717) was summoned to the imperial court in Beijing to supervise the production of *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour* (see pls. 47–57). This series of twelve monumental landscape handscrolls, each more than two feet high and forty-six feet long, was made from 1691 to 1698 to commemorate the emperor's 1689 inspection tour through newly pacified southern China.¹ The foreground of each scroll, displaying a multitude of figures and much pageantry, was executed by studio assistants. Wang Hui reserved for himself the portrayal of the mountains and rivers that compose the backdrop, which he carried out in a “Great Synthesis” (*dacheng*) of paradigmatic Northern Song landscape styles.² The magnificence of the creative imagination that integrated all the known Chinese classical landscape styles earned Hui a reputation as the greatest painter since at least the early Yuan literati polymath Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322).³ The Manchu emperor Kangxi (r. 1662–1722), eager to possess all of newly conquered China's cultural past and recognizing, moreover, that Wang Hui's peaks rising to crescendos could be interpreted as symbolizing the favor of heaven bestowed on himself, the Manchu Son of Heaven, expressed his gratification in 1698 by conferring on the sixty-six *sui* (sixty-five-year-old) painter an encomium reading *Shanshui Qinghui*, or “Landscapes Clear and Radiant.” The word “clear” was represented by the character *qing*, the name of the dynasty (1644–1911), thereby officially designating Wang Hui the premier Orthodox School master of his time.⁴

After the fall of the Manchu-Qing dynasty in 1911, the vicissitudes of Wang Hui's reputation—along with that of the so-called Orthodox School Four Wangs, the others being Wang Shimin (1592–1680), Wang Jian (1598–1677), and Wang Yuanqi (1642–1715)—reflected China's protracted struggle for modernization under the impact of Western culture, which appeared to threaten the very continuity of the country's ancient system of artistic representation. In a thoughtful essay, “The ‘Four Wangs’ during the Twentieth Century” (1993), Lang Shaojun gives a lucid account of how the Four Wangs in particular, and the literati (*wenren*) painting tradition in general, have been vilified in modern Chinese art historiography.⁵ In summing up the various critiques of the Four Wangs during the past century, Lang points out that “the evaluation of the Four Wangs is a topic for ancient art history; it is equally [important] for twentieth-century [Chinese] art history” and challenges us to draw our own

Pl. 1. Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Landscape in the Style of Wu Zhen*, dated 1675 (detail, pl. 12)



Fig. 1. Zhang Hong (1577–ca. 1652). *Mount Qixia*, dated 1634. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 11 ft. 2 ½ in. × 40 ½ in. (341.9 × 101.8 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei

conclusions from the works of the Four Wangs themselves as well as from their critiques.⁶ If, indeed, the development of Chinese art and culture seems inextricably bound to Chinese art historiography of the past, what lessons does Wang Hui's art hold for contemporary Chinese painting and its future?

The most serious obstacle to modern understanding of post-Song Chinese painting is its claim to return to ancient masters, as expressed in the term *fugu*, "revival," or *qu gu*, "in pursuit of antiquity," which may best be glossed as "repossessing the past." The word "orthodox" or "orthodoxy" (*zhengzong*), stressing the "correctness" of such an approach, has an unfortunate ring to the modern ear, in both the East and the West. Just as revolutionary China easily dismissed the Manchu-Qing Orthodox School as "feudal" and reactionary, the average Western viewer today finds early Qing Individualist masters, such as Bada Shanren (1626–1705) and Shitao (1642–1707), more readily accessible than the Orthodox Four Wangs. By contrasting the "fragmentation" of the late Ming dynasty (1368–1644) with the "reintegration" of the early Qing, the historian Jonathan Spence has contextualized the terms "orthodox" and "individualist" in the early Qing period: he suggests that "in Wang Hui's time, with Ming fragmentation a part of history, the orthodox were those who accepted the early Qing as a period of reintegration; the individualists were the unconvinced, those who chose to pursue their personal reintegration in a still fragmented world."⁷ Ju-hsi Chou delves further into the two terms in his essay "In Defense of Qing Orthodoxy":

It may be that the terms orthodox and orthodoxy, as conceived today, connote authority and rigidity in a doctrinaire or even reactionary sense. In the original Chinese, zhengzong suggests the "correct" and "true" way. Orthodoxy in painting had the further connotation of being mainstream. Against this, the individualists and the Eccentrics were virtually comets. . . . Because of their brilliance, extending recognition to them is reasonable, but doing so one need not ignore the larger heavenly system of which they were a part.⁸

FROM DONG QICHANG TO WANG SHIMIN AND OTHERS

As expounded earlier by the late Ming scholar- or literati-painter and critic Dong Qichang (1555–1636), the new orthodoxy of early-seventeenth-century Chinese painting was first and foremost a revolutionary theory of artistic renewal, or reintegration, during a period in which the extreme factionalism of Ming court politics resulted in rancorous literary and artistic

debates among different schools of scholar-officials.⁹ A fundamental distinction separated those who worked as painters by profession (*bangjia*) from the literati-amateurs (*lijia*), who painted as an avocation. Literati-painting criticism sought to restore to painting its ancient simplicity and truthfulness by “writing” the rock and tree forms calligraphically—with seal, clerical, and cursive brush techniques.¹⁰

Dong wrote, “When a scholar turns to painting, he applies to it the methods of writing unusual characters in grass or clerical scripts, making his trees resemble curved iron bars and his mountains look as if they were drawn in the sand. The easy path of the sweet and vulgar must be resolutely avoided. His painting will then have a scholarly breath [*qi*]. Otherwise, however competent a work may be, it already falls into the pernicious ways of professional artisans.”¹¹ Technically, Dong equated painting with calligraphy by insisting that in painting, brushwork and form superseded mimetic representation: “If one considers the uniqueness of scenery, then a painting is not the equal of real landscape; but if one considers the wonderful excellence of brush and ink, then landscape can never equal painting.”¹²

As the leading literati-painting critic, Dong complained that when compared with ancient works, late Ming professional painting appeared to him “sweet and vulgar” (*tiansu*), “fragmented” (*xisui*), and flat:

Ancient critics used to say that in applying the brush to painting, the brushwork must show concave and convex [three-dimensional] forms. This is most difficult to explain! . . . Painters nowadays build bits and pieces [suichu] into a great mountain, which is the worst mistake! When facing a large hanging scroll, ancient masters deployed only three or four large “opening-and-closing” [fenhe or kaihe; or qifu, “rising-and-falling”] movements to complete its composition. . . . In ancient paintings forms do not grow in one direction, which is a secret now lost to us. This is why we can no longer achieve an “eight-sided wondrous effect” [bamian linglong zhi

*qiao] in painting. If a painter can both open and close a composition, and if through his texture method he is able to carry out all that he intends, then his painting will be successful . . . [and] by always weighing the void against the solid carefully with feeling his painting will be naturally exciting.*¹³

A splendid example of what Dong Qichang saw as the “pernicious way” (*moxie*; literally, “devil’s way”) of painting in the overly “ripe” late Ming professional style is *Mount Qixia* by Zhang Hong (1577–ca. 1652), a brilliant decorative hanging scroll more than eleven feet (341.9 centimeters) high that depicts the famous Buddhist tourist site with the Thousand Buddha Cliff, near Nanjing (fig. 1).¹⁴ During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, an increase in tourism made realistic depictions of scenic landscape popular. Zhang Hong, a Wu School professional painter, recorded in his inscription that he had painted the scene after visiting it “in the rain.” Following the Wu School convention of framing a steep valley in a narrow and tall format, Zhang showed layered details bathed in luminous color washes indicating the effect of rain, with sharply foreshortened buildings and a girdle wall marking the precipitous climb toward the summit. Yet, among literati critics, who cherished ancient expressive values, Zhang Hong’s compelling new realism attracted little attention.¹⁵

Dong’s new “orthodox” theory of landscape art was closely linked to his efforts to reenvision an ancient “true” and “correct” lineage of what he called the Southern School of painting—namely, the southern Han-Chinese tradition of amateur-literati painting of the Mongol-Yuan period, beginning with Zhao Mengfu and followed by the Four Great Late Yuan Masters: Huang Gongwang (1269–1354), Wu Zhen (1280–1354), Ni Zan (1306–1374), and Wang Meng (1308–1385).¹⁶ In his theory of the Northern and Southern Schools of painting, Dong viewed Wang Wei (701–761) of the Tang dynasty, the legendary poet and scholar-amateur painter of

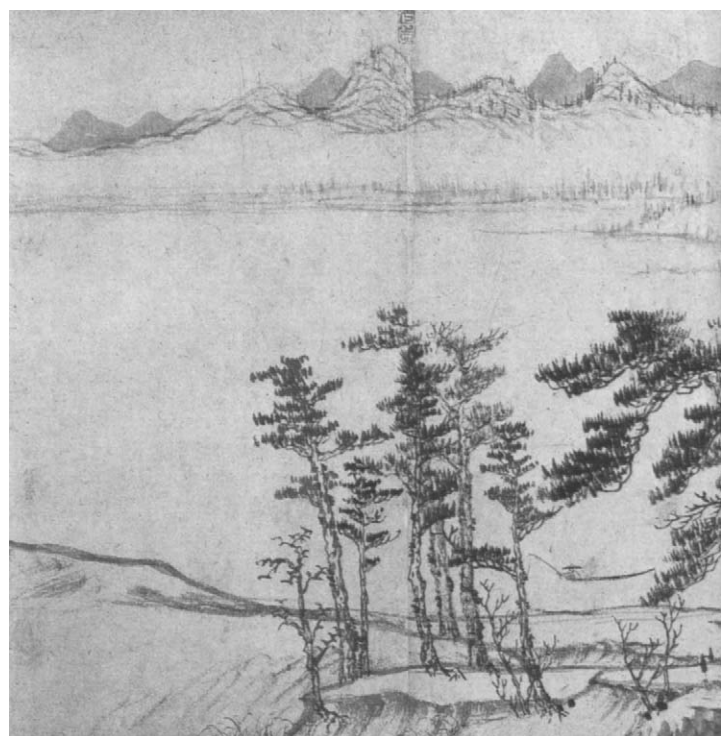
Fig. 2. Unidentified artist, formerly attributed to Wang Wei (701–761). *Rivers and Mountains after Snow* (detail), ca. 1100 (?). Handscroll, ink on silk, 11 1/8 × 67 1/2 in. (28.4 × 171.5 cm). Ogawa Collection, Kyoto



Taiyuan, in the northern province of Shanxi, as the founding “patriarch” of the Southern School. In 1595 Dong had the opportunity to see the handscroll *Rivers and Mountains after Snow*, formerly attributed to Wang Wei (fig. 2), which he took as an original work by the Tang master.¹⁷ That scroll’s linear technique of swelling contour lines with thin hooklike modeling strokes reminded him of “a small *Snow Scene* by [the Yuan dynasty southern painter] Zhao Mengfu” that he once knew.¹⁸

Fig. 3. Dong Yuan (active 930s–60s). *Wintry Groves and Layered Banks* (detail). Hanging scroll, ink and light color on silk, 71½ × 45⅞ in. (181.5 × 116.5 cm). Kurokawa Institute of Ancient Cultures, Ashiya, Japan

This “discovery” enabled Dong to trace the “origin” of his Southern School’s stylistic lineage back to the Tang period (618–906). He theorized that the tradition had begun with Wang Wei in northern China, then was developed by the Southern Tang painters Dong Yuan (active 930s–60s; fig. 3) and Juran (active ca. 960–85) in the south, who were followed



by Zhao Mengfu and the Four Late Yuan Masters, also in the south. In a long colophon, dated 1596 and attached to the end of the *Rivers and Mountains after Snow* scroll, Dong argued, “When it came to texture [*cun*] patterns, every master from the Tang through the Song periods had followed a special tradition. . . . It was like the five branches of Chan Buddhism: as soon as you heard a single word or phrase, you knew immediately to which branch the speaker belonged.”¹⁹ In a colophon dating to the 1610s about the same painting, he added, “Beginning with Wang Wei, landscape painters employed both texture strokes and ink washes. . . . Once the basic method was formulated, it was not difficult [for later painters] to follow and improvise.”²⁰

In reconstructing the so-called Southern School stylistic tradition, Dong took the round, parallel ropelike “hemp-fiber” (*pima*) texture patterns²¹ of the late Yuan southern master Huang Gongwang as its principal technical marker, which he described as follows, “In painting mountains, one must show concave and convex forms. One begins by outlining mountain forms first according to their outward shapes and momentum [*shi*], then proceeds within the outlined forms by applying straight and parallel texture strokes. This is the method of Zijiu [Huang Gongwang].”²² In Huang’s masterpiece, *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*, dated 1350 (figs. 4, 123), a painting Dong had acquired in 1596,²³ the fourteenth-century master transformed the abstract calligraphic rhythms



Fig. 4. Huang Gongwang (1269–1354). *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* (detail), dated 1350. Handscroll, ink on paper, 13 in. × 20 ft. 10 3/4 in. (33 × 636.9 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei



Fig. 5. Dong Qichang (1555–1636). *River and Mountains on a Clear Autumn Day*, ca. 1624–27. Handscroll, ink on paper, 15 1/8 × 53 7/8 in. (38.4 × 136.8 cm). The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund (1959.46)

of his “hemp-fiber” texture patterns into writhing, pulsating, “rising-and-falling” mountain “veins,” introducing a new dynamic physicality into late Yuan landscape painting. In Dong’s own short handscroll after Huang Gongwang, *River and Mountains on a Clear Autumn Day*, of about 1624–27 (fig. 5), Huang’s “hemp-fiber” texture (*pima cun*) pattern is simplified into a calligraphic formula of “[filling] concave and convex forms . . . [with] straight and parallel texture strokes.” The resulting cubistic rock forms are ranged diagonally in three ascending distances of the near, the middle, and the far, with “rising-and-falling” and “opening-and-closing” movements in space. As an overall concept, Dong used the ancient calligraphic principle of kinesthetic “momentum” (*shi*) to describe the “breath-movements” (*qishi*) of the landscape forms circulating throughout his composition.

Art historically, the different southern and northern landscape styles had their tentative beginnings in two contrasting types of texture patterns (*cunfa*) for modeling rocks. The “earthen mountain” (*tushan*) mode—identified with Dong Yuan and Juran in the south—showed softly rubbed parallel “hemp-fiber” brushstrokes in the shaded crevices of gently rolling mountain form. The “rocky mountain” (*shishan*) mode—developed by Jing Hao (active ca. 870–ca. 930), Guan Tong (active ca. 907–23), and Fan Kuan (ca. 960–ca. 1030) in the north—used a stippling technique to model billowing (*guimian*, “devil-face”) rock contours with jagged corners. Guo Xi (ca. 1000–ca. 1090), the late Northern Song landscape master and theorist, was the first to identify these two landscape modes: “Some mountains are covered with earth; others with rocks. On earthen

mountains that are covered with rocks, the forests and trees are lean and tall; on rocky mountains that are covered with earth, the forests and trees are low and luxuriant.”²⁴

The beginnings of the southern-style texture pattern can best be seen in the large hanging scroll *Wintry Groves and Layered Banks* by Dong Yuan,²⁵ which also found its way into Dong Qichang’s collection (fig. 3). It was near the end of the eleventh century that the late Northern Song amateur-painter Mi Fu (1052–1107) first rediscovered Dong Yuan’s “plain and natural” (*pingdan tianzhen*) style, which depicted the softly rolling “earthen mountains” with parallel folds and the river-and-valley scenery of the Jiangnan region in southern China.²⁶ During the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, *Wintry Groves and Layered Banks* was one of the two principal models for the revival of the Dong Yuan style in the Yuan period (1271–1368).²⁷

In Zhao Mengfu’s *Autumn Colors on the Qiao and Hua Mountains*, dated 1296 (fig. 7), Dong’s “hemp-fiber” pattern (fig. 6) was transformed into the round and centered, ropelike calligraphic brushstrokes (fig. 8) that became the model for the calligraphic revolution in Yuan landscape art.²⁸ From Dong Qichang’s vantage point, his own *River and Mountains on a Clear*

Autumn Day (fig. 5), which reflected the tripartite division of Dong Yuan’s *Wintry Groves* composition (fig. 3), wrought a second revolution in late Ming painting. By replacing mimetic representation with a self-conscious mode of artistic practice and by incorporating the painter’s bodily gesture and mark in “opening-and-closing *shi*” (*fenhe shi*) compositional principles, Dong’s own landscape painting became the physical *presentation* of the painter’s Self. In Dong’s paintings, we see the origins of both the great Orthodox and great Individualist masters of the early Qing period.

My forthcoming essay “Chinese Calligraphy as Presenting the Self” studies how Chinese artists have explored the possibility of self-expression and abstraction beyond mimetic representation or semiology.²⁹ Ancient Chinese figure painting, in the words of Gu Kaizhi (ca. 344–ca. 406), “captures the spirit [*shen*] through the form [*xing*]” (*yixing xieshen*)—that is, through “form-likeness” (*xingsi*, or what the eye sees), an image achieves a heightened “magical likeness” (*shensi*).³⁰ And the devout early-fifth-century Buddhist layman Zong Bing (375–443) saw the “reflections and traces” of nature captured in landscape painting as the spiritual emanations of real mountains and rivers.³¹ For the critic Xie He



Fig. 6. Dong Yuan
(active 930s–60s).
*Wintry Groves and Layered
Banks* (detail), see fig. 3



(active ca. 479–502), the First Principle in painting was “breath-resonance life-motion” (*qiyun sheng-dong*)—that is, the “breath” of the artist (or the Self) that animates and motivates all things in nature.³² Finally, the eighth-century Tang landscape master Zhang Zao (active ca. 766–78) described his work as “a reaching outward to imitate Creation, / and a turning inward to master the Mind.”³³ By this dualistic way of thinking, Chinese painting had always been, at one and the same time, *representing* the Object (or imitating Creation) and *presenting* the Self (mastering the Mind).

The key to Chinese painting, therefore, was its calligraphic brushwork. The subject of a calligraphic

painting was known as the “trace of brush or ink” (*biji* or *moji*)—that is, an extension of the artist’s bodily *presence*, his Self. By the late seventeenth century, however, the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual*, a technical guide for painters published in 1679, substituted an earlier term used by Xie, *yun*, or “resonance,” with a homophone meaning “movement.”³⁴ While Xie’s term had described the painter’s affective response to the represented object as a kind of sympathetic magic, this modification referred to the movement of the artist’s body as his medium of expression. The new phrase “breath-movement life-motion” describes perfectly Dong Qichang’s calligraphically kinesthetic landscape painting.

Fig. 7. Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322). *Autumn Colors on the Qiao and Hua Mountains*, dated 1296. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 11 1/8 × 36 3/4 in. (28.4 × 93.2 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei

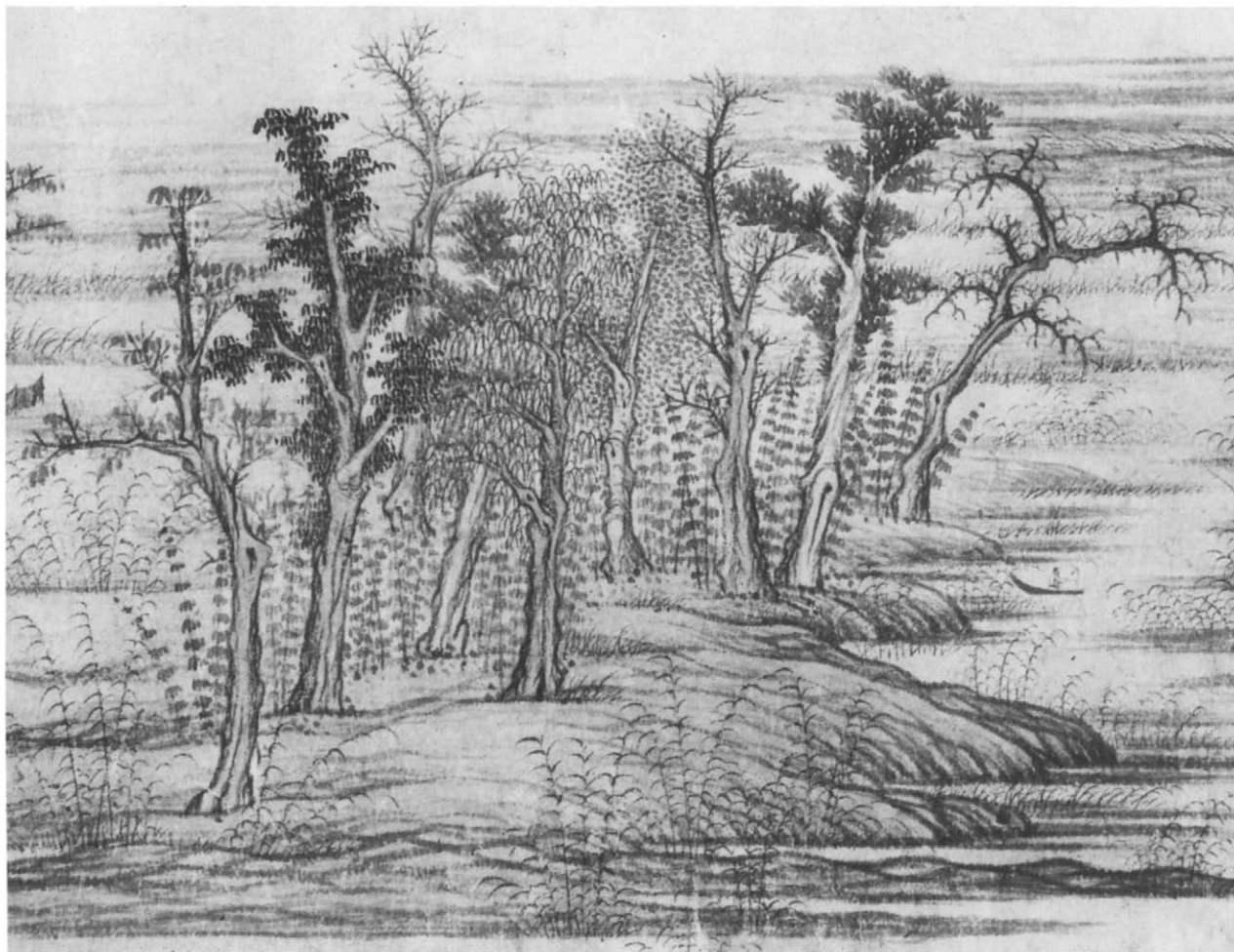


Fig. 8. Detail, fig. 7



Fig. 9. Dong Qichang (1555–1636). *The Qingbian Mountains*, dated 1617. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 88 $\frac{3}{8}$ $\times$ 26 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (224.5 $\times$ 67.2 cm). The Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr. Bequest (1980.10)



Fig. 10. Wang Meng (1308–1385). *Hermitage in the Qingbian Mountains*, dated 1366. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 55 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\times$ 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (141 $\times$ 42.2 cm). Shanghai Museum

Dong Qichang's life and achievements have been well documented in modern scholarship. Born in 1555 in Huating, Songjiang (modern Shanghai Municipal District), "to an obscure branch of the family, whose most notable members had for some generations achieved a mild prominence,"³⁵ Dong enjoyed a career that spanned four and a half decades, in which his ambition to win for himself high official positions and honors was surpassed only by his relentless pursuit of ancient masterworks as a connoisseur and art collector. Although Dong's artistic achievements were closely bound to his study of ancient works of art, his genius lay in his ability to achieve "correspondence" (*he*) with ancient principles by critically "transforming" (*bian*) his models.

Of calligraphy Dong wrote, "The calligraphic styles of Wang Xizhi [303–361] and his son [Wang Xianzhi, 344–388] were exhausted by the Qi and Liang periods. In the early Tang, by which time Yu Shinan [558–638], Chu Suiliang [596–658], and others had 'transformed' the methods of the two Wangs, new 'correspondences' with the ancients were discovered. Wang Xizhi and his son were brought to life again."³⁶ And of painting, "While copying or tracing [a style] is easy, spiritual communion [with the ancients] is difficult. Juran followed Dong Yuan; Mi Fu followed Dong Yuan; Huang Gongwang followed Dong Yuan; and Ni Zan followed Dong Yuan. Although they all followed the same Dong Yuan, each produced something different. When an ordinary painter makes a copy, what he produces looks like every other copy. How can such a work be treasured by future generations?"³⁷ After acquiring Huang Gongwang's *Fuchun* scroll (fig. 4), for example, Dong wrote in a colophon dated 1596, "My master, my master! From the smallest hills to five Cosmic Peaks, all are contained within this painting!"³⁸ Later, on his own *River and Mountains on a Clear Autumn Day* (fig. 5), he added, "Huang Gongwang's *River and Mountains on a Clear Autumn Day* is like this. I only regret that the ancient master cannot see this painting of mine!"³⁹

Soon after earning his metropolitan *jinshi* (advanced civil service) degree in 1589, Dong began to collect Song and Yuan paintings with astonishing success. In 1590 he acquired his first major Song work, *River Village on a Clear Summer Day* by Zhao Lingrang (active ca. 1070–after 1100), now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.⁴⁰ In 1597, a year after obtaining Huang Gongwang's *Fuchun* scroll, he quickly added to his collection two important attributions to Dong Yuan, *Xiao and Xiang Rivers* (Palace Museum, Beijing)⁴¹ and *Residents of the Capital* (National Palace Museum,

Taipei).⁴² In his own *Qingbian Mountains*, dated 1617 (fig. 9)—which closely follows Wang Meng's similarly titled *Hermitage in the Qingbian Mountains*, dated 1366 (fig. 10)—Dong reached back to recapture the "manner of Dong Yuan" as the source of the famous earlier work.⁴³

Up to this moment, Chinese landscape painting had seen a systematic diminution of elements piled up vertically in the picture plane.⁴⁴ After the spatial integration of elements was achieved by a unified ground plane during the Yuan period, Ming painters had turned back to the flat, decorative picture surface. Dong Qichang's radical transformation of painting in calligraphic abstraction fundamentally altered landscape composition. In Dong's *Qingbian Mountains*, the rising-and-falling, opening-and-closing rock forms and the optically fused foliage patterns jump back and forth within the two-dimensional planar

Fig. 11. Detail, fig. 9





Fig. 12. Dong Qichang (1555–1636). *Landscape in the Style of Dong Yuan*, from *Landscapes*, dated 1630. Leaf A in an album of eight paintings, ink on paper, 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ $\times$ 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (24.5 $\times$ 16 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Edward Elliott Family Collection, Gift of Douglas Dillon, 1986 (1986.266.5)



Fig. 13. Dong Qichang (1555–1636). *Landscape in the Style of Ni Zan*, from *Landscapes*, dated 1630. Leaf B in an album of eight paintings (see fig. 12)

surface structure (fig. 11). Elements of the near, the middle, and the far are collapsed together into palpably undulating breath-movements that circulate through interconnected landscape forms.

An important theme of Dong Qichang's late work, executed after 1630, was his search for a Great Synthesis of northern and southern landscape styles in the works of the quintessential Individualist painter Ni Zan. In the album *Landscapes*, dated 1630 (figs. 12, 13), Dong begins by contrasting Ni's two foundational (what he calls "bone marrow" [*sui*]) styles: the round, earthen ("southern") mode of Dong Yuan and Juran and the angular, rocky ("northern") mode of Guan Tong and Fan Kuan. In successive leaves, Dong juxtaposes various "earthen" and "rocky" themes by Juran, Mi Fu, and others in order to evoke different paradigmatic styles of the Northern Song period.⁴⁵

Then, in *Landscape in the Manner of Ni Zan* (fig. 14), which is dated March 14, 1634, a month after his eightieth-*sui*

birthday, Dong celebrated his own Great Synthesis of northern and southern styles. Containing both parallel round texture strokes and crisp angular ones, the tightly packed, diagonally ranged rectilinear rock forms evoke Northern Song monumentality by winding back across the tall picture format in a powerful S-curve.⁴⁶ Described by Wang Yuanqi as *longmai*, or the "dragon vein," this serpentine movement became an important compositional principle in later seventeenth-century landscape painting.⁴⁷ Dong expressed his satisfaction in a colophon on this painting: "Mount Xi in Wuxi is [the same as Mount] Wubing, / I regret that Ni Zan is no longer with us. / There are misty rosy clouds filling in among the bone marrows [of the landscape]. / You must know that my methods and yours are the same."

Back in 1598, through the efforts of his mentor, Wang Xijue (1534–1611), senior grand secretary to the Ming Wanli emperor, Dong Qichang was appointed a

tutor to the heir apparent. To avoid jealousy at the court aroused by his influence with the crown prince, Dong chose to retire in 1599 to his hometown, Huating, to tend to artistic pursuits and family interests. In 1605 he became tutor in Taicang to the retired grand secretary's grandson Wang Shimin (born 1592, the eldest of the Four Wangs), a fortunate young man whose passion for collecting ancient paintings with Dong's help was encouraged and supported by his grandfather.

A giant album of twenty-two reduced copies of Song and Yuan masterpieces, with its title piece bearing four large characters, *Xiao Zhong Xian Da* (To See Large within Small), written by Dong in the late 1620s (National Palace Museum, Taipei; fig. 15), answers the description of an oversize album of Song and Yuan model compositions that Wang Shimin was said to have commissioned and to have carried around with him: "[Shimin] once selected some of the most successful ancient works in methods and in breath [*qi*], twenty-four in all, and had reduced copies of them made and mounted in a giant album. He took this album with him wherever he went to serve as his model book. Thus in his works, every compositional detail, every outline, texture, and ink wash had its origins in ancient sources."⁴⁸ Judging from the five original compositions still extant—including *Travelers amid Streams and Mountains* by Fan Kuan (fig. 16) and *Snow Scene*, formerly attributed to Juran (fig. 18)⁴⁹—the reduced paintings are meticulously exact copies of the originals (figs. 17, 19).

In helping the younger man, Dong had passed on many of the finest works from his own collection. In eighteen of the album's extant twenty-two reduced copies, the painting on the right-hand leaf is accompanied on the left-hand leaf by a colophon signed and sealed by Dong. Exact transcriptions of inscriptions he had written earlier on the original works, these colophons give the title and attribution of the original composition, argue for its attribution, and comment on stylistic sources and provenance, thus providing a veritable record of Dong's collecting activities from the late 1590s onward.⁵⁰ Presumably by 1627, the latest date mentioned in the colophons, all the paintings shown in the album had entered Wang Shimin's collection, and Shimin's famous album was made shortly thereafter.

By the 1660s and 1670s, owing to the declining Wang family fortune after the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1644, Shimin had lost most of his ancient Song and Yuan art collections. The *To See Large within Small* album of "reduced copies," one of Wang's most valued remaining treasures, thus provided the primary



Fig. 14. Dong Qichang (1555–1636). *Landscape in the Manner of Ni Zan*, dated 1634. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 39 1/2 × 10 3/4 in. (100.4 × 26.4 cm). Private collection, New York

Fig. 15. Dong Qichang (1555–1636).
Frontispiece to *To See Large
Within Small* (*Xiao Zhong Xian
Da*), album by Chen Lian
(ca. 1590s–ca. 1640s), late 1620s.
Ink on paper, 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ $\times$ 26 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.
(42.8 $\times$ 66.8 cm). National
Palace Museum, Taipei

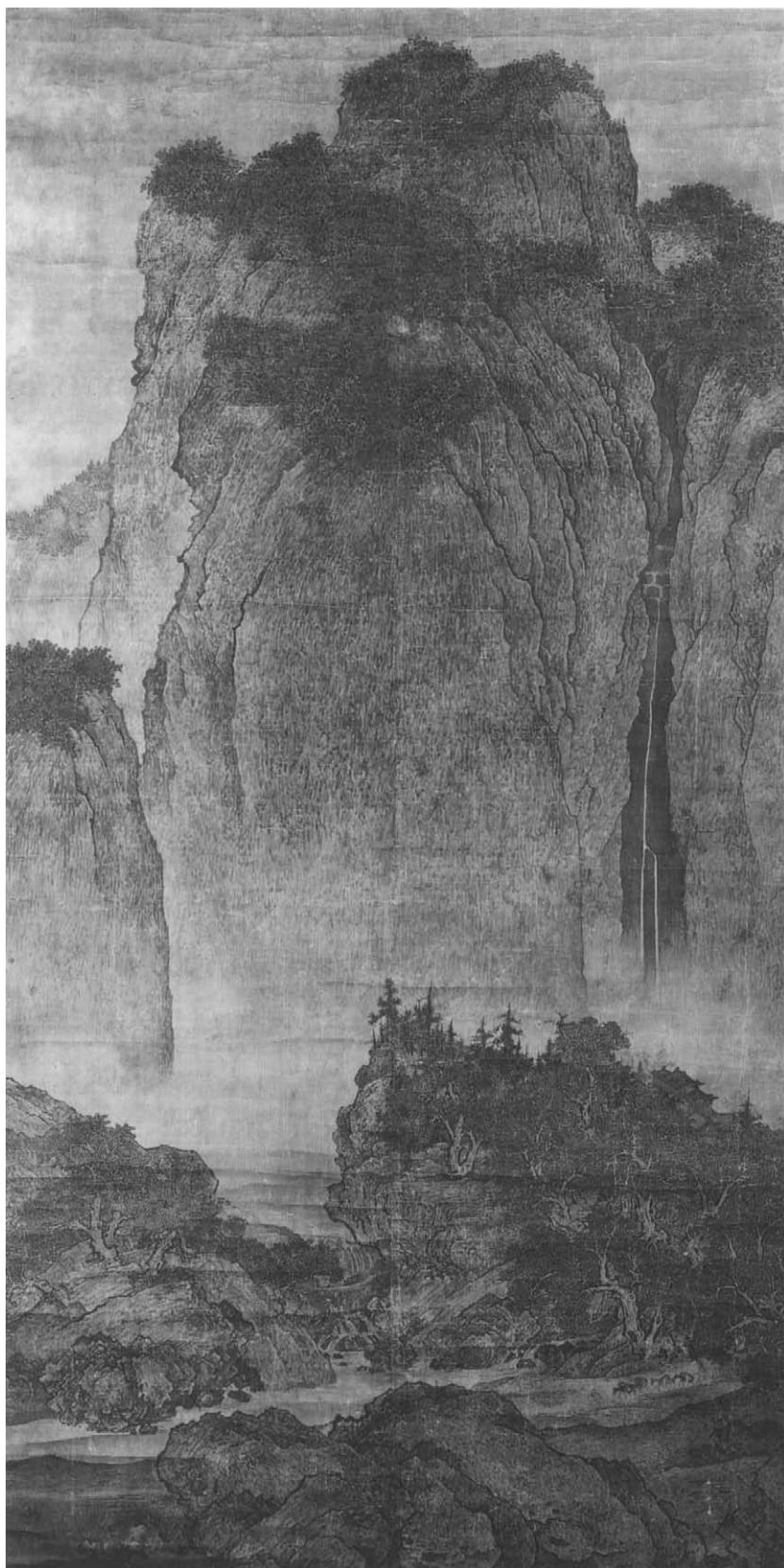


Fig. 16. Fan Kuan (ca. 960–
ca. 1030). *Travelers amid
Streams and Mountains*,
ca. 1000. Hanging scroll,
ink and color on silk,
81 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\times$ 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (206.3 $\times$
103.3 cm). National Palace
Museum, Taipei

Fig. 17. Chen Lian (ca. 1590s–
ca. 1640s). *Landscape after Fan Kuan's
"Travelers amid Streams and Moun-
tains,"* Leaf B in *To See Large within
Small*, late 1620s. Ink and light
color on silk, 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\times$ 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
(57.5 $\times$ 34.9 cm). National Palace
Museum, Taipei



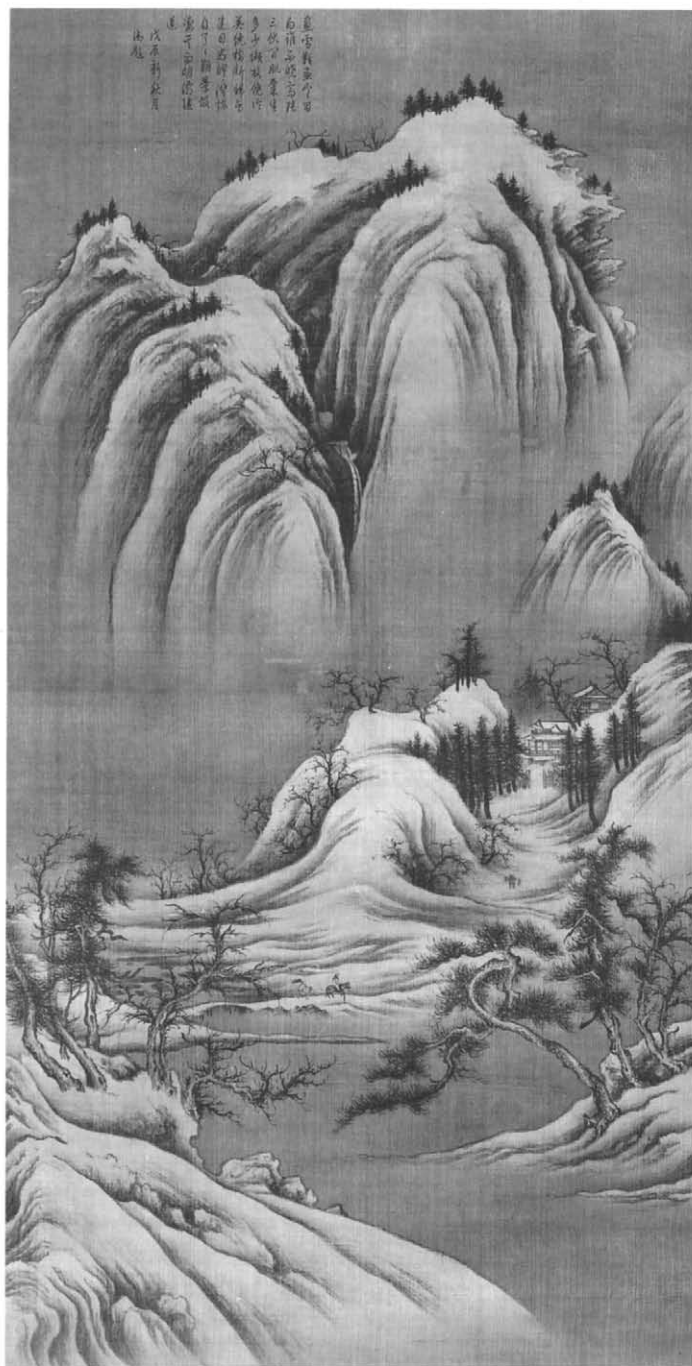


Fig. 18. Unidentified artist, formerly attributed to Juran (active ca. 960–85). *Snow Scene*, ca. 1100 (?). Hanging scroll, ink on silk, $40\frac{3}{4} \times 20\frac{1}{2}$ in. (103.6 $\times$ 52.5 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei

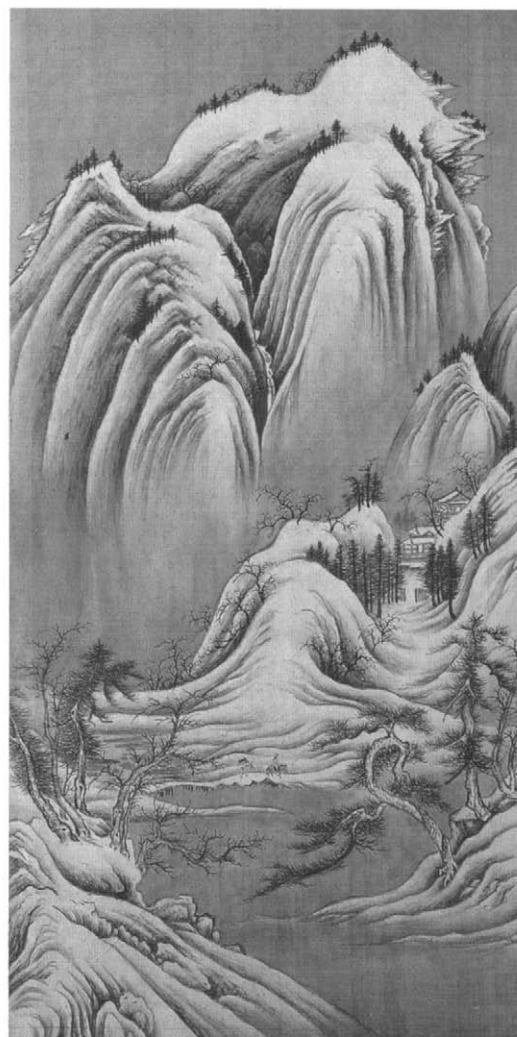


Fig. 19. Chen Lian (ca. 1590s–ca. 1640s). *Landscape after Juran's "Snow Scene,"* Leaf E in *To See Large within Small*, late 1620s. Ink on silk, $21\frac{7}{8} \times 11$ in. (55.5 $\times$ 27.8 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei

source materials for the formation of the early Qing Orthodox School of painting during the second half of the seventeenth century. Through the great international loan exhibition “The Century of Tung Ch’i-ch’ang [Dong Qichang], 1555–1636” (1992), a number of exact copies of some of the paintings in the album, most notably those by Wang Jian, Wang Hui, and Wu Li (1632–1718), have surfaced and received careful scholarly examination.⁵¹ A rich tapestry of complex interactions between a coterie of creative spirits—artists and art collectors—of diverse backgrounds in what might modestly be termed the Taicang (Wang Shimin’s hometown) Creative Arts Project now begins to emerge.

First and foremost, there is the question of the authorship of Wang Shimin’s album. Following

eighteenth-century palace records, the official designation of the album (*zhongbo* 431–38) at the National Palace Museum, Taipei, reads: “Ming [Dynasty] Dong Qichang’s Colophons to Reduced Copies of Works by Song and Yuan Masters” (*Ming Dong Qichang fang Song Yuan ren suoben huaba*).⁵² Because they are very close replicas and Dong never “copied” ancient works, it was first thought that young Wang Shimin himself might have made these paintings.⁵³ But Shimin’s brushwork, being strongly influenced by Dong’s, was likewise literati-calligraphic and abstract. In *Landscape in the Style of Huang Gongwang*, dated 1666 (fig. 20), Shimin followed Dong’s dictum of “[filling] concave and convex forms . . . [with] straight and parallel texture strokes.” It seems that the very “antique brusque

Fig. 20. Wang Shimin (1592–1680). *Landscape in the Style of Huang Gongwang*, dated 1666. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 53 × 22 ¼ in. (134.6 × 56.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Ex coll.: C. C. Wang Family, Gift of Douglas Dillon, 1980 (1980.426.2)



Fig. 21. Chen Lian (ca. 1590s–ca. 1640s). *Landscape Dedicated to Wang Shimin* (detail), dated 1624. Handscroll, ink on paper, 8 ¾ in. × 12 ft. 4 in. (22.4 × 375.8 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing



elegance” (*guzhuo*) of Shimin’s brush technique disqualifies him as a likely candidate for the chameleon-like mimicry so ably, and aptly, exhibited by these works.⁵⁴

In 1962 Qi Gong first proposed the little-known Songjiang School professional painter Chen Lian (ca. 1590s–ca. 1640s) as the author of Wang Shimin’s album.⁵⁵ Wang Jian’s *Copies of an Album of Song and Yuan Landscapes in Wang Shimin’s Collection* (Shanghai Museum) bears a colophon by Jian, dated 1663, that reads:

Master Yanke [Wang Shimin] of Taiyuan from the district of Lou [Taicang] . . . once asked an old acquaintance Chen Mingqing [Chen Lian] from Huating to make a reduced-size album of Song and Yuan masterpieces in his collection that he could carry with him to enjoy at leisure. . . . I have now made copies of Chen’s copies to present to [my fraternal elder Wenshu]. . . . May Wenshu kindly forgive their shortcomings and accept them for what they are.⁵⁶

Chen Lian was a pupil of Zhao Zuo (ca. 1570–after 1633), a Songjiang professional painter who, along with his colleague Shen Shichong (active ca. 1607–40), had become famous in late Ming painting lore for being among Dong Qichang’s many acknowledged ghost painters (*daibi*; literally, “substitute brushes”).⁵⁷ In *Landscape Dedicated to Wang Shimin*, dated 1624 (fig. 21), Chen Lian painted in a smooth, disciplined, and representationally successful style with delicate outlines and a soft, ink-washed modeling technique ideally suited for “copying” ancient masterworks. This supports Wang Jian’s evidence of Chen Lian as “an old acquaintance . . . from Huating” to whom Wang Shimin had turned to create this most valuable album.

In *Landscape after Fan Kuan’s “Travelers amid Streams and Mountains,”* Leaf B of the *To See Large within Small* album (fig. 17), Chen Lian faced the difficult challenge of reducing Fan’s monumental composition (fig. 16),



Fig. 22. Wang Jian (1598–1677). *Landscape after Juran's "Snow Scene,"* dated 1670. First in a set of twelve hanging scrolls, ink and color on silk, each scroll 78 $\frac{7}{8}$ $\times$ 22 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (200.4 $\times$ 56.5 cm). Shanghai Museum

Fig. 23. Wang Jian (1598–1677). *Landscape after Fan Kuan's "Travelers amid Streams and Mountains,"* dated 1670. Tenth in a set of twelve hanging scrolls, ink and color on silk, each scroll 78 $\frac{7}{8}$ $\times$ 22 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (200.4 $\times$ 56.5 cm). Shanghai Museum

Fig. 24. Unidentified artist, formerly attributed to Wang Wei (701–761). *Rivers and Mountains after Snow*, ca. 1100 (?) (detail, fig. 2)



which is nearly seven feet high (206.3 centimeters), to about one-third of its original size. In Fan's landscape, individual elements large or small are seen frontally, one by one, as discretely conceived images; the very conceptual separateness of such imagery effects a psychological remove from the viewing subject. This early Northern Song "high-distance" (*gaoyuan*)⁵⁸ view is divided vertically into three

superimposed sections. The near and middle-distance elements occupy only a little more than the bottom third of the picture plane, while the remainder is dominated by a towering monolith flanked by two subsidiary side peaks that abruptly soar from an ocean of unfathomable mist below. The viewer's eye is thus made to leap forward in a three-step progression from the foreground, across to the middle



Fig. 25. Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322). *The Mind Landscape of Xie Youyu* (detail), ca. 1290. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 46 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (27.4 × 117 cm). Princeton University Art Museum, Edward L. Elliott Family Collection, Museum purchase, Fowler McCormick, Class of 1921, Fund (y1984-13)



Fig. 26. Wang Jian (1598–1677).
Landscape after Zhao Mengfu's "Mind
Landscape of Xie Youyu," ca. 1670s.
Album leaf, ink and color on
paper, 13 × 10 1/4 in. (33.1 × 25.7 cm).
Private collection, New York

distance, then upward to the dizzying heights above. In his reduced copy, Chen Lian brought the landscape forward and closer to the spectator by tying the near, middle, and far elements into a diagonally zigzag surface pattern. Likewise, in tackling the *Snow Scene* formerly attributed to Juran (fig. 18), which is compartmentalized into three separate sections, Chen clung to late Ming surface design by piling up elements vertically in the picture plane (fig. 19).

As mentioned earlier, there exists a large corpus of close copies as well as free imitations of the *To See Large within Small* album, dating from the 1660s through the 1670s. Among those who painted such works was the second of the Four Wangs, named Jian, who was also born in Taicang, in 1598. Jian's great-grandfather Wang Shizhen (1526–1590) was a literary luminary whose theories had greatly influenced Dong Qichang's thought. Joining Wang Shimin's Taicang experiment in putting Dong's new Orthodox theory into practice, Wang Jian worked toward a Great Synthesis of the paradigmatic Song

and Yuan styles. Eight of the twelve compositions in Jian's *Copies* of 1663 originated in the *To See Large within Small* album.⁵⁹ And in *Landscapes in the Styles of Old Masters*, a set of twelve tall but narrow hanging scrolls, dated 1670 (figs. 22, 23), Jian turned Chen Lian's *Travelers* and *Snow Scene* (figs. 17, 19) into two dramatically elongated vertical compositions that illustrate his Great Synthesis—the former executed in southern “hemp-fiber” texture strokes in monochrome ink wash; the latter, in northern “raindrop” (*yudian*) texture dots finished with a light “blue-and-green” color wash.

Wang Jian's synthesis of the two landscape styles may be traced back to Dong Qichang's early colophon, dated 1595, written on *Rivers and Mountains after Snow*, formerly attributed to Wang Wei (fig. 2), which linked Zhao Mengfu's stylistic origin to that earlier master: “Once at the capital, in the collection of the Gaoyu general Yang, I saw a small *Snow Scene* by Zhao Mengfu using gold-dust [and blue-green] colors, whose distant elegance distinguished it from all ordinary works. I thought immediately that [Zhao]



Fig. 27. Wang Hui (1632–1717). Copy after Chen Lian's *Landscape after Fan Kuan's "Travelers amid Streams and Mountains,"* from *To See Large within Small*, dated 1672. Leaf D in an album of twenty-one paintings with two leaves of calligraphy, ink and color on paper or silk, average 21 7/8 × 13 3/8 in. (55.5 × 34.5 cm). Shanghai Museum

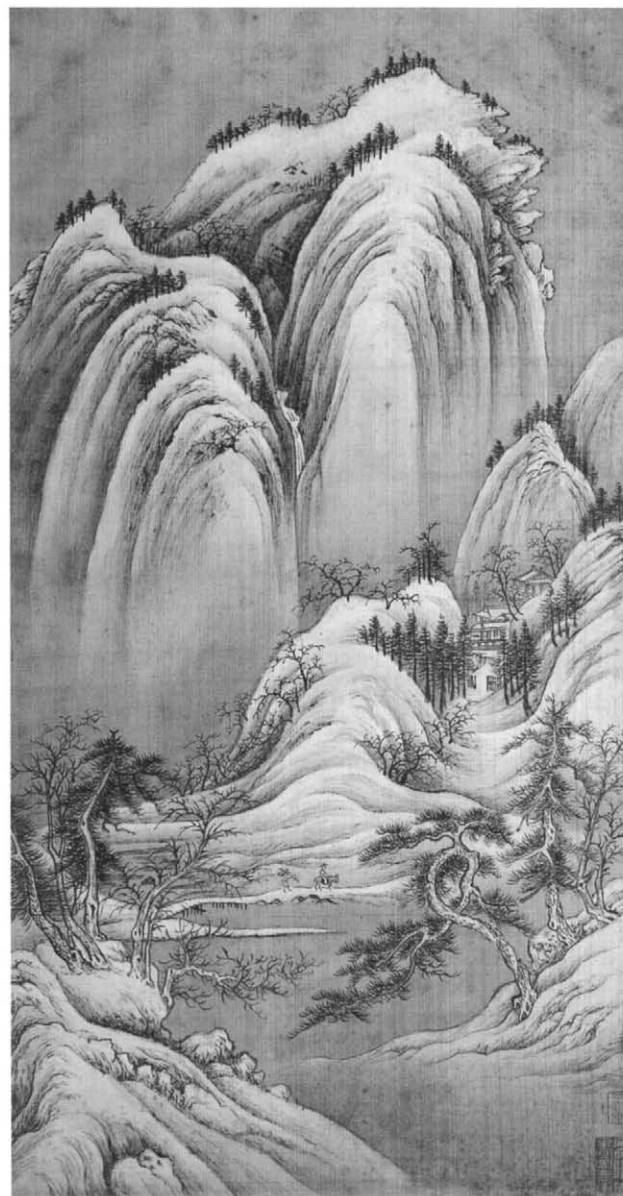


Fig. 28. Wang Hui (1632–1717). Copy after Chen Lian's *Landscape after Juran's "Snow Scene,"* from *To See Large within Small*, dated 1672. Leaf C in an album of twenty-one paintings (see fig. 27)

had learned this style from Wang Wei. . . . When I perused this scroll [by Wang Wei], I found exactly what I saw in that small scroll by Wuxing [Zhao]!"⁶⁰ A comparison of the rock and tree forms of *Rivers and Mountains after Snow* (fig. 24) with those of Zhao Mengfu's early archaistic blue-and-green work *The Mind Landscape of Xie Youyu*, of about 1290 (fig. 25), reveals similarities in linear technique: each defines layered crevices of rounded boulders with thin, swelling contour lines and parallel modeling strokes. In Wang Jian's album leaf *Landscape after Zhao Mengfu's "Mind Landscape of Xie Youyu,"* from about the 1670s (fig. 26), the swelling, convoluted rock contours with parallel interior modeling strokes provide the technical clue for Jian's Great Synthesis of the northern and southern styles.

Finally, the *To See Large within Small* album by Wang Hui (the third of the Four Wangs), dated summer 1672 (figs. 27, 28), contains exact facsimilies of Chen Lian's copies (figs. 17, 19).⁶¹ In his signed colophon, dated 1702 (fig. 29), Hui states:

In the renzi year [1672] I was invited to [Master Wang Shimin's] villa at Xitian to spend the summer with him. . . . He brought out all his collected works [Chen Lian's To See Large within Small album] . . . and asked me to paint this album [Wang Hui's own reproduction of To See Large within Small]. . . . It is now more than thirty years later. As I now look through this album it is like meeting again with my old friend, as I can almost hear [him] coughing and laughing in front of me! . . . On the twenty-fourth day of the fifth [lunar] month of the guiwei year [1702], Wang Hui of Haiyu [Yushan].⁶²

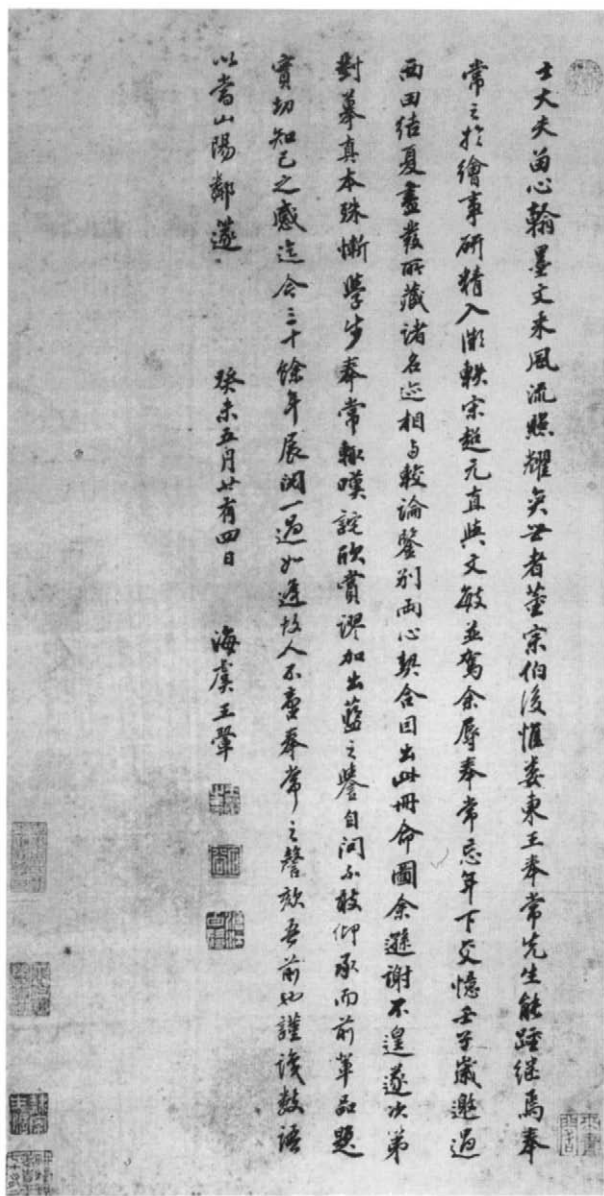


Fig. 29. Wang Hui (1632–1717). Colophon, dated 1702, to *To See Large within Small* (see figs. 27, 28)

By 1672 Wang Shimin had lost most of his original Song and Yuan collections. It remained for Wang Hui, who worked under Wang Shimin's close supervision in the 1660s through the 1670s, to complete the Taicang project of creating a Great Synthesis of Song and Yuan styles for the early Qing Orthodox School of painting.

WANG HUI'S GREAT SYNTHESIS, OR "REPOSSESSING THE PAST"

Born in 1632 in Yushan (Mount Yu), a village near Changshu, north of Suzhou (modern Jiangsu Province), Wang Hui came from a long line of professional painters of humble means.⁶³ At the age of sixteen *sui* (fifteen years old) in 1647, he began

studying with a local painter named Zhang Ke (active mid-seventeenth century). Discovered by Wang Jian in 1651, young Hui was introduced by Jian to the great Loudong master Wang Shimin in Taicang. The latter was so impressed by Hui's brilliance that he promptly invited Hui to study and copy all the ancient masterworks at Xitian, his family villa in the western suburb of Taicang.

Wang Hui's virtuoso performance during the 1660s and 1670s dazzled his admirers, as noted by his closest friend, the painter Yun Shouping (1633–1690): "I have witnessed Wang Hui's painting undergo several metamorphoses. . . . With each metamorphosis, it arrived at a new summit."⁶⁴ In *Landscape in the Style of Huang Gongwang*, dated 1660 (pls. 2, 15), the youthful Hui (at the age of twenty-eight) begins by following Dong Qichang's calligraphic formulation of Huang's style: he fills the concave and convex rock contours with parallel texture strokes and ink dots. While a close view of Hui's brushwork shows his natural proclivity for fluency and charm, the overall composition is formal and restrained. The dedicatory inscription in the upper right corner of the painting (see pl. 15), which was presented as a birthday gift to "the venerable old gentleman Yu," starts with a four-word couplet (fig. 30): "Mountains and streams round and full; / Grass and trees resplendent and lush" (*Shanchuan hunhou / Caomu huazi*). Wang took these two lines, originally written by Zhang Yu (1283–1350) in praise of a painting by Huang Gongwang, from Dong Qichang's colophon on Chen Lian's *To See Large within Small* album, Leaf H (fig. 31).⁶⁵ In comparing the recipient's good health to luxuriant mountains and streams, the felicitous eulogy—perhaps an intimation of the future master of "Landscapes Clear and Radiant"—resonates with pride and satisfaction in the peaceful, prosperous world of the early Qing.

Wang made use of the same couplet in his dedication to *Landscape in the Style of Juran*, dated 1664 (pl. 3). Hui's composition in this painting reflects that of the *Snow Scene* formerly attributed to Juran (fig. 18), but his immediate model was Chen Lian's *Landscape after Juran's "Snow Scene"* (fig. 19), Leaf E of the *To See Large within Small* album. Freely adapting elements from Chen's composition, Hui enlarged the group of pine trees in the left foreground, linking it diagonally with the smaller pine forests in the middle distance, which in turn he related rhythmically to the great serpentine movement of the central mountain peak in the background. By turning ropelike "hemp-fiber" texture strokes into kinetic carriers of life and energy, he made it possible for individual brushstrokes

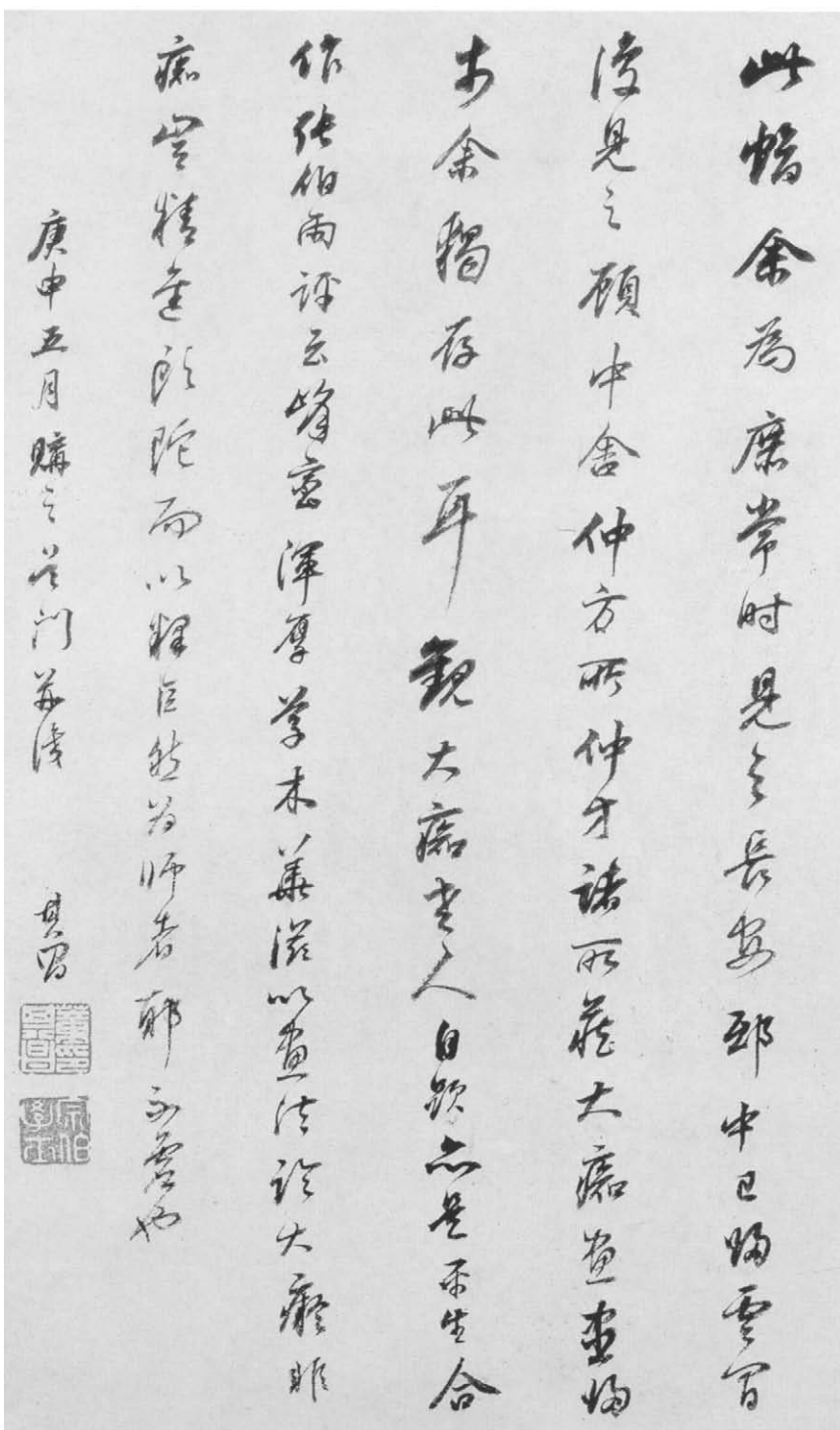


to grow and expand until the whole becomes a great billowing pattern of undulating eddies and counter-eddies of “breath-force” movements. Wang Hui observed, “I must use the brush and ink of the Yuan to move the peaks and valleys of the Song, and infuse them with the breath-resonance of the Tang. I will then have a work of the Great Synthesis.”⁶⁶

Wang Hui did not believe, however, that calligraphic abstraction should displace mimetic representation in painting. Disagreeing with Dong Qichang’s dictum that “in painting it is better to be [descriptively] obscure [an] than obvious [ming],”⁶⁷ he wrote: “Painting has its ‘obvious’ and ‘obscure’ aspects. These are like the two wings of a bird; neither could be used singly at the expense of the other. When the obvious and the obscure are equally perfected, a spirited ‘breath’ will emerge.”⁶⁸ In *Snow Clearing*, after Li Cheng, dated to the spring of 1669 (pl. 4), Hui’s study of the early Northern Song master, who lived from 919 to 967, represents a radical departure from Dong Qichang’s narrow range of Southern School idioms—as represented by Dong Yuan, Juran, and Huang Gongwang—of “[filling] concave and convex forms . . . with parallel texture strokes.” Li Cheng’s “rocky mountain” idiom of northeastern China, with its jagged “devil-face” rock formation and spiky “crab-claw” (*xiezhao*) wintry trees, demanded of the artist representational skill more

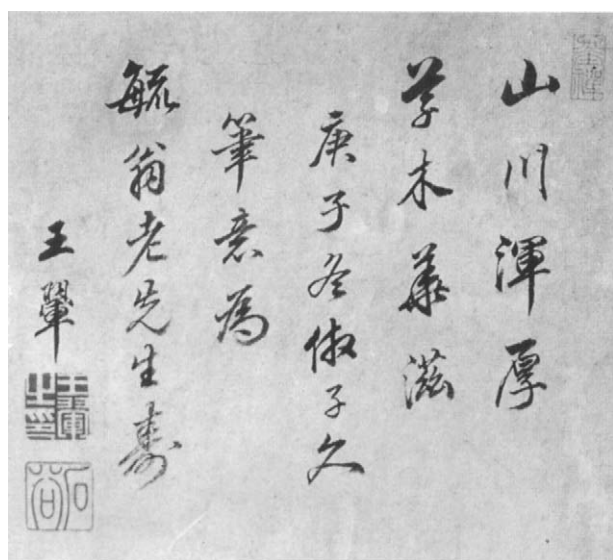
than mere calligraphic strength. Here, Wang Hui displayed his lyrical talent for describing snow-clad peaks in enchanted stillness. Through filigreed patterns of wintry branches perching over a frozen stream, temple structures and cottages are seen nestled in mountain folds winding into the far distance. Tints of reddish brown scattered among banks and cliffs suggest vestiges of fall that also foretell the coming of spring.

Fig. 31. Dong Qichang (1555–1636). Colophon (detail of Leaf H) to Chen Lian (ca. 1590s–ca. 1640s), *To See Large within Small*, late 1620s. Ink on paper, 19 ½ × 11 ¾ in. (49.5 × 29.9 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei



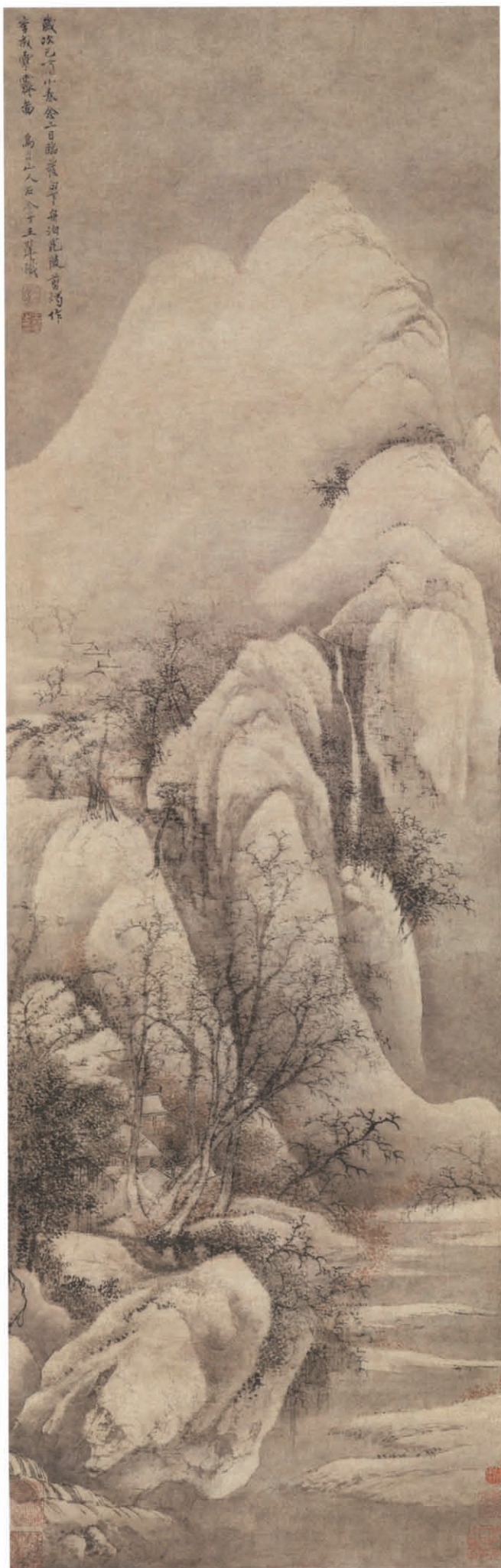
Opposite: Pl. 2. Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Landscape in the Style of Huang Gongwang*, dated 1660 (detail, pl. 15)

Fig. 30. Wang Hui (1632–1717). Colophon, dated 1660, to *Landscape in the Style of Huang Gongwang* (detail, pl. 15)





Pl. 3 (cat. 4). Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Landscape in the Style of Juran*, dated 1664. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 51 7/8 × 25 3/4 in. (131 × 65.5 cm). Princeton University Art Museum, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse (y1979-1)



Pl. 4 (cat. 9). Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Snow Clearing*, after Li Cheng, dated 1669. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 43 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\times$ 14 in. (110.8 $\times$ 35.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Ex coll.: C. C. Wang Family, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse, in honor of Professor Wen Fong, 1978 (1978.13)



And in *The Colors of Mount Taihang*, dated to the autumn of 1669 (pls. 5, 39A,B), the young Orthodox master recaptured the style in which Guan Tong and Fan Kuan depicted the Taihang Mountains in northern China by combining the craggy rock contours with a stippled “raindrop” dotting pattern. Hui’s inscription on the painting reads, “In Guangling [modern Yangzhou, Jiangsu Province], at the home of a noble person, I once saw a small scroll by Guan Tong. With its cloudy peaks racing together in an oppressive and dense atmosphere, it pierced my heart and shook up my eyes. Today . . . I follow its method and paint this *Colors of Taihang*. I hope it exhibits some of the deep and heroic atmosphere of the north country, rather than merely posturing with pretty details.” The contemporary scholar Chin-Sung Chang has proposed that this “noble person” in Yangzhou was Li Zongkong (1618–1701), who had earned his *jinshi* degree in 1647, and has suggested a connection between Wang Hui and *Autumn Mountains at Dusk*, formerly attributed to Guan Tong (see fig. 66), which Li had once owned.⁶⁹

In adapting Guan Tong’s vertical composition to a handscroll format, Hui turned the convoluted rock contours with stippled “raindrops” into a giant, billowing mountain form, known as the “dragon vein” or “artery” (*longmai*), that runs throughout the painting.⁷⁰ Wang Yuanqi (the youngest of the Four Wangs) credited Hui with the discovery of this so-called dragon-vein principle in seventeenth-century landscape composition:

*Although dragon veins that open and close, rise and fall in a composition have been present in ancient paintings, they were never explicitly pointed out. Now that Wang Hui has made them clear, all students know what to follow. . . . The dragon vein marks the breath-force of a painting; its starting point may be oblique or symmetrical, rounded or fragmented, broken or continuous, hidden or apparent. . . . If the dragon, in its many oblique or frontal, unified or broken manifestations . . . is lively and vivid, the painting will be true!*⁷¹

Wang Hui’s *Mist Floating on a Distant Peak, in Imitation of Juran*, dated 1672 (pl. 6), features a great, heaving “dragon-vein” mountain mass with round calligraphic brushstrokes in interlocking patterns composed of arcs, circles, and dots. Colophons inscribed at the top of the painting by Hui and by his teachers Wang Shimin and Wang Jian describe the painting as an exciting new stylistic discovery.⁷² Hui points out, “This painting by Juran does not make use of any

paths, streams, buildings, boats, or bridges. It depends solely on broad and heroic compositional forces [*shi*].” Wang Shimin marvels at the way “a primal breath [*yuanqi*] fills the composition. A feeling of joyful exhilaration moves freely in it, and the texture strokes are divinely inspired”; Wang Jian sees it as “a living reincarnation of Juran!”⁷³ Hui’s composition reflects lessons learned from his encounter in 1672 with *Seeking the Dao in Autumn Mountains*, formerly attributed to Juran (fig. 32). This particular model taught Hui how the “dragon-vein” principle, unfettered by superfluous descriptive details, could transform landscape painting into an orchestration of pure calligraphic brushstrokes in abstract space.

The year *renzi* (1672) is important for our understanding of Wang Hui’s thriving artistic enterprises during the 1660s and 1670s. In 1672, as previously mentioned, he was invited to Wang Shimin’s villa at Xitian and asked to paint his copy of Chen Lian’s *To See Large within Small* album, which was still owned by Shimin. The Qing government’s punishing fiscal policies in the Jiangnan area in the 1660s had forced Shimin to sell his collections of ancient art to pay his family’s grain taxes.⁷⁴ As Hui’s fame as a painter grew and his works were increasingly sought by collectors, Shimin was in a position to exploit his protégé for additional income.⁷⁵ There exists a series of letters from him to both his own son and to Hui, dating to 1666 and later, in which he complains about Wang Hui’s reluctance to “lift his brush for any social occasion” and begs, cajoles, and pressures the artist for better service.⁷⁶ As early as 1669, the well-known art patron and critic Zhou Lianggong (1612–1672) noted that the “people of Wu [Suzhou] asked [Wang Hui] to paint, then mounted his works as antique paintings to deceive collectors,” adding matter-of-factly that Wang’s work “could easily compete with those of ancient masters.”⁷⁷

A famous forgery made after Fan Kuan’s masterpiece *Travelers amid Streams and Mountains* (fig. 16), known simply as “Fan Kuan’s *Travelers*” (pl. 7), was perpetrated by Wang Shimin and Wang Hui in 1671.⁷⁸ The present mounting of the forged painting shows two colophons, one by Wang Shimin, dated 1671, and another by Song Junye (ca. 1662–1713), a pupil of Wang Hui, dating from a quarter of a century later. Shimin’s inscription (fig. 33) reads:

Of the Song and Yuan masterpieces in my family’s collection, two-fifths were acquired in the capital and the other three-fifths came from Dong Qichang. . . . With the passage of time . . . only one- or two-tenths of what I once owned still remains. Recently, going through an old trunk, I brought out

Pl. 5. Wang Hui (1632–1717). *The Colors of Mount Taihang*, dated 1669 (detail, pl. 39A,B)



Pl. 6 (cat. 13). Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Mist Floating on a Distant Peak, in Imitation of Juran*, dated 1672. Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 76 × 28 1/2 in. (193 × 71.5 cm). Princeton University Art Museum, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse (y1973-9)



Fig. 32. Unidentified artist, formerly attributed to Juran (active ca. 960–85). *Seeking the Dao in Autumn Mountains*, 14th century (?). Hanging scroll, ink on silk, $61\frac{1}{2} \times 30\frac{3}{4}$ in. (156.2 $\times$ 77.2 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei



Pl. 7 (cat. 11). Wang Hui (1632–1717).
*Landscape after Fan Kuan's "Travelers
 amid Streams and Mountains,"* ca. 1671.
 Hanging scroll, ink and color on
 silk, 61 ½ × 29 ¼ in. (155.3 × 74.4 cm).
 National Palace Museum, Taipei

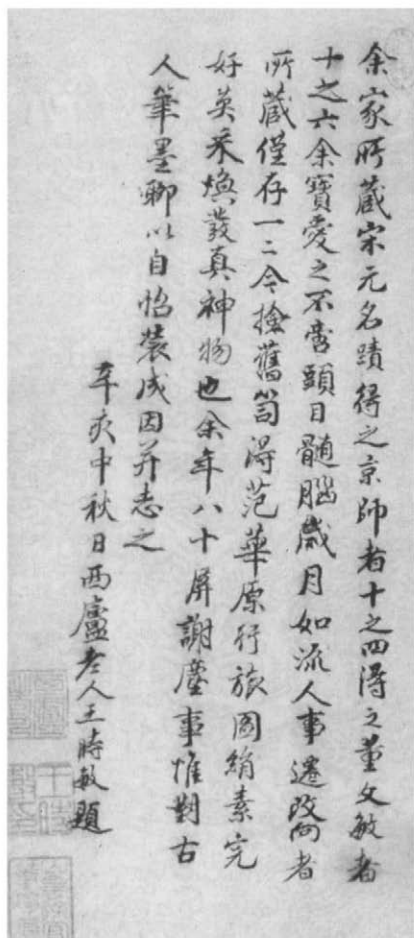


Fig. 33. Wang Shimin (1592–1680). Colophon, dated 1671, to Wang Hui's *Landscape after Fan Kuan's "Travelers amid Streams and Mountains"* (see Catalogue, no. 11)

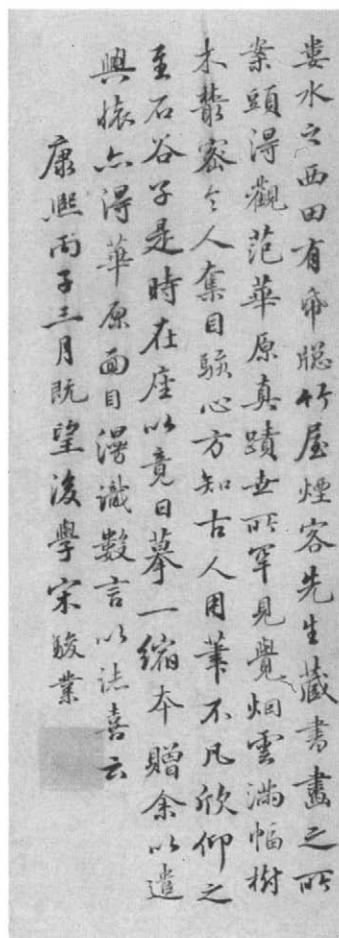


Fig. 34. Song Junye (ca. 1662–1713). Colophon, dated 1696, to Wang Hui's *Landscape after Fan Kuan's "Travelers amid Streams and Mountains"* (see Catalogue, no. 11)

this Fan [Kuan] *Travelers*. Its silk in perfect condition, the radiantly brilliant work is truly a divine object! I am now in my eightieth year. Retired from worldly affairs, I devote myself to studying ancient masterworks for amusement. Having remounted this scroll, I mark the occasion with these words.

Song Junye's inscription, dated 1696 (fig. 34), sixteen years after Shimin died, recounts how Song had viewed this "Fan Kuan's *Travelers*" in Wang Hui's presence in Wang Shimin's old studio in Taicang. Moved by Song's appreciation of "this authentic work by Fan Kuan, a rare treasure of the world . . . filled with mist and clouds and thickly amassed trees," Wang Hui graciously made a reduced copy of it and "presented [it to Song] to reward [his] enthusiasm."⁷⁹ The fact that Fan Kuan's *Travelers amid Streams and Mountains* bears the seals of the famous collector Liang Qingbiao (1620–1691)⁸⁰ suggests that Wang Shimin had already sold Fan Kuan's original to Liang by 1671, when he commissioned Hui to create a replica that he named "Fan Kuan's *Travelers*." Thus at Shimin's old home, in 1696, Song Junye could have seen only the replica and not the original Fan Kuan.

It is also clear that Wang Hui had himself never seen the original Fan Kuan, the immediate model for his "replica" being Chen Lian's *Landscape after Fan*

Kuan's "Travelers amid Streams and Mountains," Leaf B of Chen's *To See Large within Small* album (fig. 17). In making a facsimile of Chen's reduced copies at Shimin's behest in 1672 (fig. 27),⁸¹ Hui copied his model faithfully stroke for stroke. But when faced with the problem of enlarging from Chen's painting to recreate "Fan Kuan's *Travelers*," which measures 61 1/4 by 29 1/4 inches (155.3 by 74.4 centimeters), Hui wisely avoided following the former's simplified outlines and rock forms. Instead, he reinvented his Fan Kuan "replica" with energized "raindrop" texture patterns and billowing rock contours to fashion a monumental "dragon-vein" mountain composition (pl. 7).

A clear indication of how brilliantly Wang Hui's forgeries had succeeded was that more than half a century later, when both Fan Kuan's original and his "Travelers" had entered the imperial collection of the Qianlong emperor (r. 1736–95), it was the "replica" that won the emperor's encomium, written on the painting itself:

*The mountains more heroic than elegant,
And waterfalls more rapid than wide,
Such is the scenery of our Northern land,
Where travelers sing, "How difficult is the road ahead!"
Gusts make ten thousand leaves fly,*

Pls. 8–11 (cat. 14).
 Wang Hui (1632–1717).
In Pursuit of Antiquity: Landscapes after Song and Yuan Masters, dated 1673. Leaves A (this page, above), D (this page, below), E (opposite, above), and F (opposite, below) in an album of twelve paintings, nine in ink on paper and three in ink and color on paper, 6 7/8–8 7/8 × 11 1/4–13 1/4 in. (17.6–22.6 × 29.8–33.5 cm). Princeton University Art Museum, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse (1973–67)



8



9

*Where clouds rise through distant peaks
 How the simpler methods of the Four [Yuan] Masters,
 All follow this painting as their noble ancestor!*⁸²

The last line, of course, also reveals the Qianlong emperor's own art-historiographic misperception. As half a dozen more authenticated works by Wang Hui in Qianlong's collections so clearly indicate, Hui's creative "replicas" of Song and Yuan masterworks succeeded precisely because he neither "copied" nor

"imitated."⁸³ Instead, the Orthodox master recast his "replicas" quite deliberately, it seems, with as many individualistic features as he did in paintings made and signed under his own name.

As discussed above, it was in *Mist Floating on a Distant Peak*, in *Imitation of Juran* dated 1672 (pl. 6), that Wang Hui discovered his calligraphic Juran formula of a "dragon-vein" mountain mass of round interlocking brush patterns of circles and dots. In an album entitled *In Pursuit of Antiquity* (*Qu gu*), painted



10



11

for Wang Shimin and dated 1673 (pls. 8–11, 31–38), Hui presents a Great Synthesis of his “two wings” of painting, the “obscure” and the “obvious,” in the Song and Yuan styles.⁸⁴ The album opens with a representationally “obscure” calligraphic abstraction of a “host” mountain flanked by two “guest” peaks (pl. 8)—reflecting the ancient ideograph 山, *shan* (山, or “mountain”). Not a single tree or blade of grass mars the pure formal design, and its parallel hemp-fiber texture pattern echoes Dong Qichang’s

“Huang Gongwang” formula of “concave and convex forms . . . [with] parallel texture strokes.” Expanding on this archetypal Southern School brush idiom, Hui recreates a series of related texture patterns in representing the styles and compositions of Huang Gongwang (pl. 9), Cao Zhibo (1272–1355; pl. 10), Wang Meng (pl. 11), and Dong Yuan, Mi Fu, and Gao Kegong (1248–1310) (see pls. 31, 33, 35). Then, turning to more descriptive idioms, he illustrates the Northern School styles of Li Cheng and Guo Xi (see pls. 36–38),



Pl. 12 (cat. 16). Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Landscape in the Style of Wu Zhen*, dated 1675. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 26 ½ × 15 ½ in. (67.2 × 39.3 cm). Princeton University Art Museum, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse (y1979-2)

as well as designing two softly colored lyrical compositions reminiscent of the styles of Wang Shen (ca. 1048–1103) and Southern Song Academic painting (see pls. 32, 34).

The world of Kangxi, in which Wang Hui lived, was one of reconstruction after the fragmentation of the late Ming. As Zhang Geng, author of *Painters of the Qing Dynasty* (*Guochao huazheng lu*, preface dated 1735), pointed out, “Many scholar-officials of the [early] Qing court took up painting landscapes, flowers, and plants, or orchids and bamboo. Some specialized in the methods of the Song or the Yuan; others followed Shen [Zhou; 1427–1509] or Dong Qichang.”⁸⁵ Widely recognized as the most gifted of the early Qing Orthodox masters, Wang Hui was referred to as the “painting sage.” Through his synthesis, Yun Shouping observed, a new unity was achieved “even [among] styles that had always been considered incompatible.”⁸⁶ Fully conscious of his artistic experiments, Wang Hui described his method in two of the seals on his paintings. In the lower left corner of *Landscape in the Style of Juran* (pl. 3), Hui’s seal reads, “I travel up and down through past and present” (*Shangxia gujin*), while one of his seals at the top of *Mist Floating on a Distant Peak, in Imitation of Juran* (pl. 6) states, “Why not this way?” (*You he buke*). Just as the creation of the great encyclopedic art collections during that time served as a powerful tool for cultural reintegration, so did Wang Hui’s Great Synthesis, his “repossessing the past,” proclaim the beginning of a new universal art.

A small hanging scroll entitled *Landscape in the Style of Wu Zhen*, dated 1675 (pls. 1, 12), is a fully realized masterpiece in this style. The brushwork—round, energetic lines in circular rhythmic patterns—is highly abstract. The tip of every brushstroke is carefully centered and tucked in, or “hidden,” within each stroke,⁸⁷ and the ink tones are rich and luminous. The design seems to have been spun out of a single revolving breath. The lively, pulsating “dragon vein” dominates. At the sides, rocks, trees, and even houses are tilted as if pulled toward the center by a tremendous centripetal force, creating a great vortex in the lower half of the painting. The outer circle of this pattern continues upward and turns into a greater counterwhorl in the mountain peak above. In the upper right corner, Wang Jian wrote an appreciative colophon:

Dong Qichang often said to me: “Painters who possess the qualities of beauty and elegance may yet lack roundness and fullness; and those who have power and strength may yet be partly lacking in style and resonance.” As for Wang Hui, all

of the desirable qualities seem to be present. It may be said that not a single hair in his painting is to be regretted. This painting is deep and calm and quietly aloof. The primal breath seems to flow magically through it. It is one of the great masterpieces and should be carefully treasured.”⁸⁸

THE ORTHODOX VERSUS THE INDIVIDUALIST MASTER: “METHOD” OR “NO-METHOD”

In contrasting the works of the early Qing Orthodox Four Wangs with those of the Individualist master Shitao, James Cahill has summed up their different approaches as the “culmination of method and no-method.”⁸⁹ On the one hand, Cahill sees the Four Wangs’ method of imitating ancient styles as an assumption of what W. Jackson Bate has called the “burden of the past.”⁹⁰ On the other, he considers Shitao’s “no-method” as being “responsible for much of the weakening to be seen in [Shitao’s] last works—the doctrine of no-method, that is, drove him at last into an ultimately destructive renunciation of the very disciplines that had sustained Chinese painting through the centuries.”⁹¹ Cahill concludes that “the magnificent failure of [Shitao] to bring about single-handedly the emancipation of painting from the weight of the past marks the end of the age in which that interaction of theorizing and painting had been most pervasive and productive, the most intensely self-conscious time of this most reflective of artistic traditions.”⁹²

Cahill based his interpretation of Shitao’s approach on the artist’s own words. Shitao inscribed the last leaf of his famous album *Painted for the Old Daoist Yu*, dating to the late 1690s, with the statement “*Shifa feifa, jicheng Wofa*,” which Cahill translates as “this method is no method—herein lies my method.”⁹³ An alternative meaning of this sentence (quite purposely intended by Shitao), however, reads, “This method is no [ordinary] method—herein lies my method.” In an album dated 1694, Shitao declared, “In this *dao* those who entered through the proper Gate [*men*, or School] are nothing special.”⁹⁴ Those he refers to are the painters tutored in the Orthodox School, who learned to paint by imitating the styles of ancient masters. As a self-taught itinerant monk-painter who despised the Gate (or Orthodox School), Shitao had insisted on developing his own method.

Much ink has been spilled on Shitao’s mystic tract, *Recorded Sayings on Painting* (*Huayu lu*, ca. 1700), which is both technically informative and critically brilliant.⁹⁵ According to Zhu Liangzhi, Shitao’s definition of his

own “method” (*fa*) reflects one of the tenets of the *Diamond Sutra*’s Mahayana-Buddhist doctrine, which states, in the words of the Buddha, “What I call method [*wo shuo fa*] is no ordinary method [*ji fei fa*], therefore [it] is the method [*shi wei fa*].”⁹⁶ In *Recorded Sayings*, Shitao begins by describing his method of *yihua*—literally, “one-stroke painting”—which Ju-hsi Chou (1969) has translated as the “Primordial Line”:⁹⁷

*Primeval Antiquity [taigu] had no method [wufa] for as long as Primeval Simplicity [taipu] remained intact. When Primeval Simplicity disappeared, method [fa] was established. How is the method established? It begins with the Primordial Line [yihua, “one-stroke painting”], which as the basis of all things is at the root of the myriad phenomena [of nature]. . . . This method of the Primordial Line originates in my Self [Wo] . . . because painting springs from [my] Mind [xin, or “heart”]. . . . This Primordial Line, which encompasses Creation’s infinity, . . . awaits man to grasp and draw from it. If man knows how to use this Primordial Line in concrete but small ways . . . he shall not understand how painting becomes painting or how nothing can go against the dictates of his Mind. This is because when Primeval Simplicity disappears, the method of the Primordial Line is established!*⁹⁸

To put it simply, rather than laying claims to a return to ancient masters, Shitao’s method was to express affective responses to all the myriad aspects of nature in his own Mind, or, as the word *xin* also denotes, in his heart.

Born Prince Zhu Ruoji (in 1642) in Guilin, Guangxi Province, in southwestern China, Shitao was a scion of the Ming imperial family, which fell to the Manchu conquest in 1644. In the face of advancing Manchu troops, young Ruoji’s father, Zhu Hengjia, made the fatal mistake of proclaiming himself a “Protector of the Realm,” which resulted in his execution in 1645 by a rival pretender, Prince Tang of Fuzhou. The future artist was saved by a family servant and subsequently hid behind his Buddhist name, Yuanji; he was also known by his sobriquet, Shitao.⁹⁹ By 1650 Shitao, now a mendicant Buddhist monk accompanied by his faithful companion, Hetao, arrived in the Jiangnan area after traveling on foot and by boat northeast along the Xiang River and turning east through northern Hunan, Jiangxi, and Anhui. His formal Buddhist training, which began in 1662 under the powerful Chan master Lü’an Benyue (d. 1676), led his life and art in a new direction.¹⁰⁰

During early Qing times, Buddhism was seriously split between Ming loyalist and pro-Qing factions. Young Shitao was spurned by the loyalist camp, led by Abbot Lingyan Jiqi (1605–1672), whose supporters

included former aides from the court of Prince Tang. Both Lü’an Benyue and Lü’an’s master, Muchen Daomin (1596–1674), who was a bitter enemy of Lingyan Jiqi, had faithfully served the first Manchu emperor, Shunzhi (r. 1644–61), in Beijing from 1659 to 1661. In becoming a disciple of Lü’an Benyue, the dispossessed former Ming prince found himself squarely in the pro-Manchu camp.¹⁰¹

Shitao’s idea of “one-stroke painting” probably originated in a discussion between Lü’an and another Chan master, Xiu from the Baoen Temple in Nanjing. “Take the word *one* [*yi*, written as a single horizontal stroke] and add no more to it,” Xiu reportedly asked. “What do you have?” Master Lü’an answered, “The design is complete.”¹⁰² Since the character *yi* denotes “unity,” this exchange indicated harmonization of opposites, which, in the political context of the time, meant reconciling Ming loyalism with Qing unification. Shitao’s life and art, therefore, necessitated the reimposition of order, or reintegration, through a lifetime of chaos and struggle. As an artist who intuited the Oneness of creation, both as an integer and an integral whole, through “one-stroke painting,” he produced his own Great Synthesis by expanding this method into a broad range of complex and difficult techniques. Shitao quoted Confucius at the close of his chapter on *yihua*: “My Dao is that of an all-encompassing Oneness [*Wu Dao Yi yi guanzhi*]!”¹⁰³

The Sixteen Luohans, a large handscroll dated 1667, painted by Shitao at the age of twenty-five (figs. 35, 36), presents a Chan Buddhist apocalyptic vision inspired by the canonical Buddhist text *Record on the Duration of the Law* (*Fuzhu ji*), in which sixteen guardians of the Law, known as luohans, are ordered by the Buddha to remain in the mountains to await the coming of Maitreya, the Future Buddha.¹⁰⁴ In the middle section of the scroll, four luohans accompanied by a mountain sprite watch, transfixed, as a wildly threatening dragon-demon is released from a vial held by one of them. How will the guardians return the dreadful monster to the magical vial? Shitao’s powerfully built beast with its hate-filled humanoid eyes is realistically threatening. Its long, flapping, snakelike tail whips up a tidal wave of cosmic vibrations: rising ocean breakers, angry spidery tree branches, and massive rock outcroppings with throbbing contour lines and struggling “veins” or “arteries,” all caught up in a vortex of whirlwind-like tumbleweeds in a desert storm. In the midst of this tumult appear the finely drawn faces, calm and

Fig. 35. Shitao (Zhu Ruoji, 1642–1707). *The Sixteen Luohans*, dated 1667 (detail, fig. 36)





Fig. 36. Shitao (Zhu Ruoji, 1642–1707). *The Sixteen Luohans* (detail), dated 1667. Handscroll, ink on paper, 18 ¼ in. × 19 ft. 7 ⅞ in. (46.4 × 597.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Douglas Dillon, 1985 (1985.227.1)

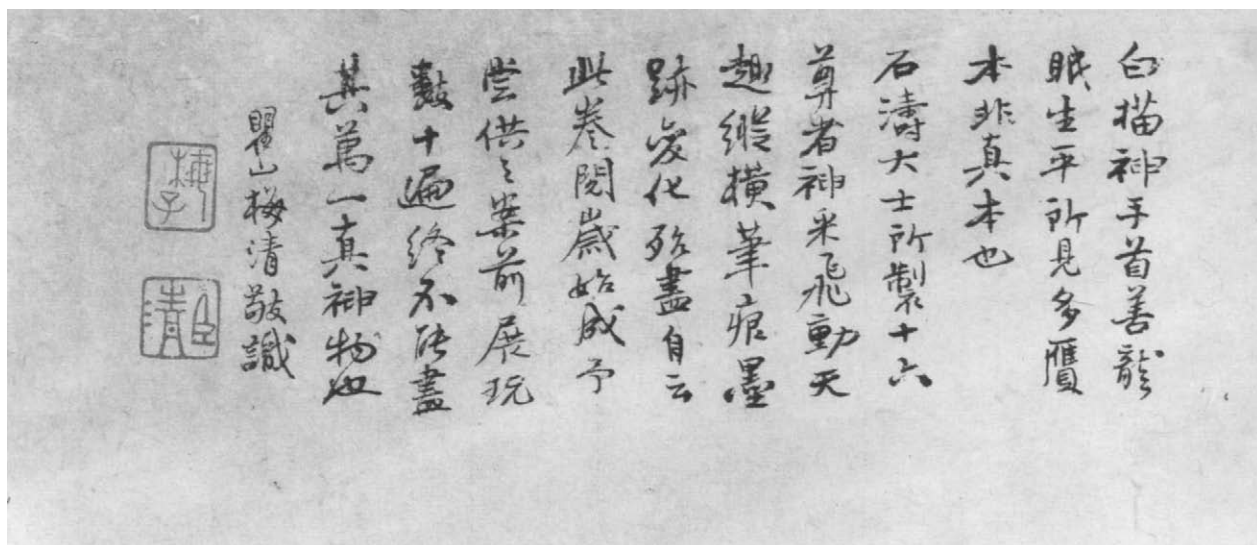


Fig. 37. Mei Qing (1623–1697). Colophon to Shitao, *The Sixteen Luohans* (detail, fig. 36)

focused, of two wise and all-compassionate luohans conversing with each other (fig. 35), no doubt elucidating, in Buddhist cosmological terms, this man-made psychovisual end-of-the-world drama.

In a colophon at the end of *The Sixteen Luohans*, Mei Qing (1623–1697), a close friend of Shitao, identifies Li Gonglin (ca. 1041–1106) as the source of the artist's "monochrome-outline" (*baimiao*) technique (fig. 37). But Shitao probably never saw an original work by a real Song master. Unlike the socially privileged Jiangnan scholar-artists and collectors who valorized Song and Yuan masterworks, the poor mendicant monk-artist was self-taught. His earlier models were popular late

Ming woodblock illustrations or paintings by Chen Hongshou (1599–1652), Wu Bin (active ca. 1583–1626), and Ding Yunpeng (1547–ca. 1621). Using his dynamic "one-stroke" painting with its round, porous, and centered brushwork, Shitao transformed Wu Bin's typical late Ming "iron-wire" drawings (*tiexian miao*) with their flat surface patterns (fig. 38). This was Shitao's own invention: as he noted in *Recorded Sayings*, "The beards and eyebrows of the ancients do not grow on my face."¹⁰⁵ Thus, "this method is no [ordinary] method—herein lies my method."

During the 1670s and 1680s, while the Orthodox master Wang Hui was creating his Great Synthesis by



returning to the styles of early masters, the Individualist Shitao proceeded in the opposite direction—by converting his own “one-stroke” method into a myriad of related forms. In *A Secluded Dwelling by a Mountain Chasm*, dated 1682–83 (fig. 39), Shitao’s vibrating round texture strokes and moss dots create a giant semicircular “dragon-vein” movement that echoes—independently, to be sure—Wang Hui’s great compositional discovery of the early 1670s, as reflected in *Mist Floating on a Distant Peak*, in *Imitation of*

Juran (pl. 6). In *Recorded Sayings*, Shitao names thirteen texture patterns (*cunfa*), including “curling clouds” (*juanyun*), “ax-cut” (*fupi*), “hemp-fiber” (*pima*), “unraveled rope” (*jiesuo*), and “devil-face” (*guimian*). He explains: “One must base oneself on real mountain peaks in order to create new mountain faces; real mountains must become texture patterns that grow like real mountains. . . . Without becoming real mountain peaks, how can texture patterns show their transformations? Without becoming texture patterns,

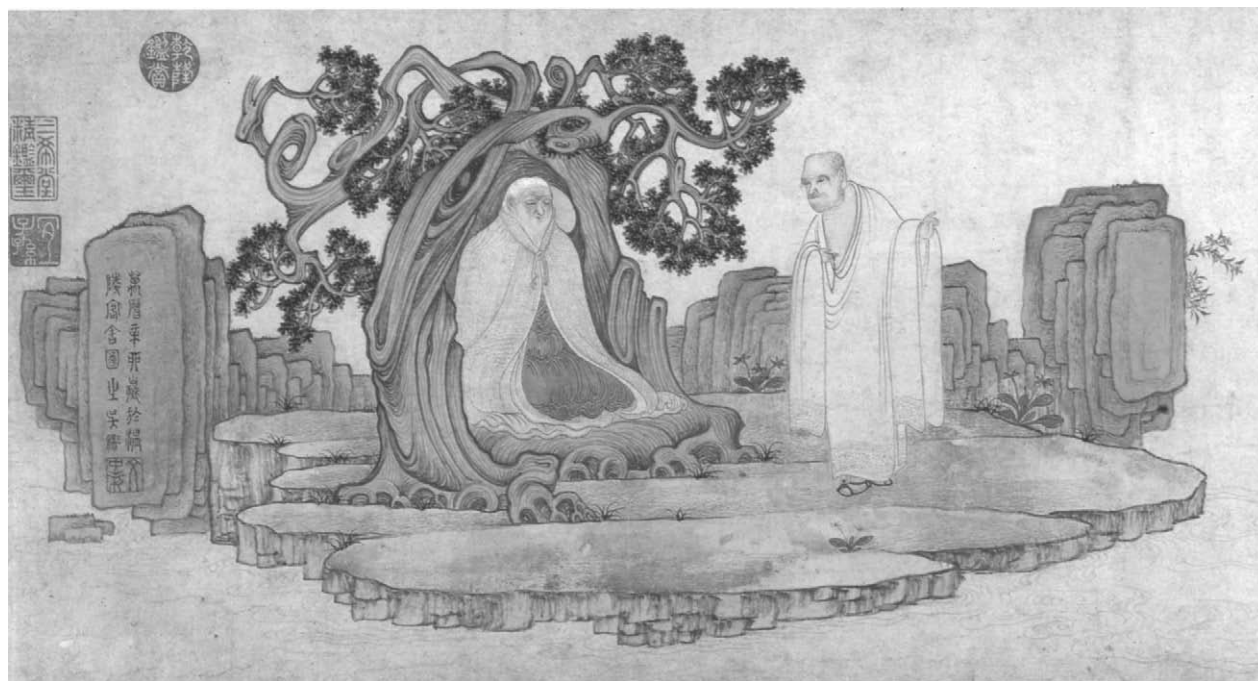


Fig. 38. Wu Bin (active ca. 1583–1626). *The Sixteen Luohans* (detail), dated 1591. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 12 5/8 in. × 13 ft. 7 1/8 in. (32 × 414.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Edward Elliott Family Collection, Gift of Douglas Dillon, 1986 (1986.266.4)



Fig. 39. Shitao (Zhu Ruoji, 1642–1707). *A Secluded Dwelling by a Mountain Chasm*, from *Album of Landscapes and Flowers*, dated 1682–83. Leaf G in an album of ten leaves, ink on paper. Location unknown, formerly Zhang Daqian Collection

how can real mountain peaks manifest themselves in painting?”¹⁰⁶ After describing how he draws “trees mostly like rocks . . . mountains like the sea and sea like the mountains,” Shitao concludes that *yihua*, “one-stroke painting,” should “embody calligraphy” (*jianzi*), for the simple reason that “the Primordial Line [*yihua*] lies at the basis of both calligraphy and painting, which, in turn, manifest the rules and exceptions of the Primordial Line.”¹⁰⁷

Finally, in *Man in the Mountain*, dating from the late 1690s (fig. 40), Shitao makes an intuitive leap backward to recapture the ancient belief in the mystic union of calligraphy and painting and of brush and ink through his “one-stroke” painting. In the final decades of his life, Shitao learned to regard painting as, in the words of the Tang master Zhang Zao, “a reaching outward to imitate Creation, / and a turning inward to master the Mind.”¹⁰⁸ The subject of Shitao’s calligraphic painting is his own Selfhood—that is, the “traces” of his brush and ink as an extension of his bodily presence. Here, the visual structure of his landscape is distinctly more calligraphic than pictorial, with its thickening-and-thinning brushstrokes animating the material ground of the flat paper surface. Such calligraphically embodied “one-stroke” painting was inspired by the words attributed to the Eastern Han scholar Cai Yong

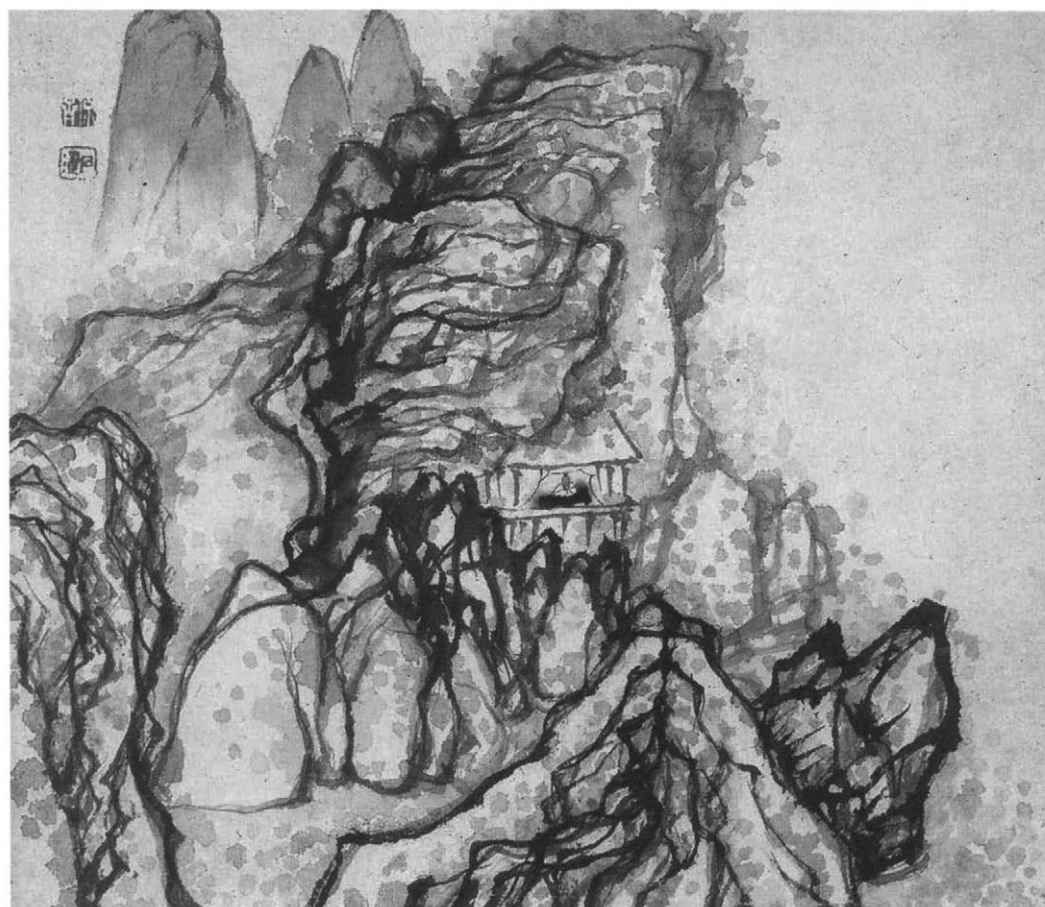


Fig. 40. Shitao (Zhu Ruoji, 1642–1707). *Man in the Mountain*, from *Album for the Daoist Yu*, late 1690s. Leaf L in an album of twelve leaves, ink and color on paper, 9 1/2 x 11 in. (24.1 x 27.9 cm). The C. C. Wang Family Collection, New York

(131–192 C.E.): “Calligraphy derives from Nature. When Nature was established, there appeared *yin* and *yang*. When *yin* and *yang* appeared, forms and forces emerged. By ‘tucking in the head’ [*cangtou*] and ‘protecting the tail’ [*huwei*] [of each “round” brushstroke], the calligrapher stores power in each form; and in applying his brush and transmitting power through it, he creates beautiful muscle and skin [in each brushstroke].”¹⁰⁹

“ALEXANDRIANISM” OR TRANSFORMATIONS (*BIAN*)?

It would be helpful now to return to Wang Hui’s concept of *qu gu*, or “repossessing the past.” In the mid-twentieth century, when modernism was in full force, the critic Clement Greenberg saw “motionless Alexandrianism” or “mandarin verse”—his synonyms for decadence and decline—as “surrendering [artistic] ambition and returning to a stale past.”¹¹⁰ In Chinese art historiography, however, revival (*fugu*) has always been a progressive response for combating latter-day banalities and decline rather than a mere doctrinaire justification for the status quo.

In “The Arts and the ‘Theorizing Mode’ of the Civilization,” Frederick W. Mote wrote powerfully of China’s “inexorable past”:

*There is an apparent anomaly in Chinese civilization with regard to the uses of the past: the defining criteria for value were inescapably governed by past models, not by present experience or by future ideal states of existence. Yet the entire purpose of civilization and men’s individual lives was to realize the maximum from this present moment, not to blindly repeat some past nor to forgo the present in preparation for some anticipated future. All Chinese intellectual traditions shared this fundamental attitude, and foreign value systems buckled before it. It transformed Buddhism in China and it frustrated Christianity. It is not irrelevant to the problems of modernization and socialist change.*¹¹¹

And in a similar vein, Craig Clunas pointed out:

*The surviving literary and physical remains of the Greek and Roman worlds exercised a fascination over the minds of early modern European intellectuals, and enjoyed a prestige every bit as great as did “High Antiquity” with their contemporaries in China. There can be little or no justification for seeing what was happening in [Renaissance] Europe as a dynamic “rebirth,” while what was happening in Suzhou at the same time is considered so radically different that concepts such as “originality, creativity and orthodoxy” might well need a major redefinition.*¹¹²

Perhaps the best way to evaluate Wang Hui and his lifework is by redefining such concepts as “originality, creativity and orthodoxy.”

In studying Wen Zhengming (1470–1559), a painter of the mid-Ming period, Clunas borrows the anthropologist Alfred Gell’s idea of a “fractal, contextual personhood” to describe how Wen (and other post-Yuan literati painters) had “worked in what in our eyes are so many different ‘styles’ [of ancient masters].”¹¹³ Gell uses the Polynesian image *The Fractal God, A’a* from Ruruta in the Austral Isles (fig. 41), “in which the features of the God are represented by little figures which repeat, in miniature, the overall form of the God as a whole,” in order to illustrate how the idea of a fractal personhood was designed “to overcome the typically ‘Western’ oppositions between individual (ego) and society, parts and wholes, singular and plural.” Gell observes that “the notion of genealogy . . . is the key trope for making plurality singular and singularity plural.”¹¹⁴ Traditional Chinese genealogical art historiography,¹¹⁵ in particular Wang Hui’s Great Synthesis, fits well with Clunas’s idea of a Chinese painter’s “fractal, contextual personhood,” as seen through its “material and visual traces.”¹¹⁶



Fig. 41. Unidentified artist (Polynesian; Ruruta, Austral Isles). *The Fractal God, A'a*, before 1821. Wood, H. 46 in. (116.8 cm). The Trustees of the British Museum, London



Fig. 42. Brice Marden (b. 1938). *The Propitious Garden of Plane Images, Third Version*, 2000–2006. Six panels, oil on linen, 6 × 24 ft. (182.9 × 731.5 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York, promised Gift of Donald B. and Catherine C. Marron, 2006

The nature of the Chinese concept of Self is important in this regard, since the word is also subject to question on historical and psychological grounds in Western art criticism. What is the calligraphic character of the Chinese painter's Self, as expressed in the individual marks of his brushwork? In applying calligraphic techniques to painting, post-Song literati painters developed a new pictorial language that used style as a subject matter to allude to history and to connote meanings. Traditional Chinese art history emphasized individual "transformations" rather than historical development. Just as Dong Qichang "imitated" the fourteenth-century Ni Zan (fig. 14) by way of a work by the tenth-century Dong Yuan or Juran (which he thought had inspired Ni), Shitao had argued that his powerful *Waterfall at Mount Lu*, of about 1697 (Sumitomo Collection, Kyoto, Japan), might as well be viewed as the work of the eleventh-century master Guo Xi himself.¹¹⁷

The historical pattern seen by Chinese artists was not one of progress, in which the new replaced the old; it was, rather, an enduring effort on the part of succeeding generations of artists to gain or restore life and truth to art. Ancient masters were perceived in a nonhistorical continuum in which later masters, in achieving Self-realization through inner responses to both nature and art, emerge as their equals ("plurality [made] singular," in Gell's term) rather than as mere followers. They, too, became ancestors! During the 1660s and 1670s, young Wang Hui's "creativity"—described as *bian*, or "transformations"—so astonished his teachers and friends that he was praised as "the kind of painter who has not been seen for 500 years!"¹¹⁸ In the 1680s and 1690s, however, Hui's transformations had visibly relaxed, as the leading master seemed to have yielded to the temptation of imitating himself.

There is something at once seemingly bland but utterly uncompromising about the circular arguments of both Dong Qichang's "correspondence" (*he*) and "transformation" (*bian*) and Shitao's "method" (*fa*) and "no-method" (*feifa*). The reason lies in the very Chinese definition of image-making, both in calligraphy and in painting, as graphic signs (*tuzai*) or cultural conventions.¹¹⁹ Unlike Western pictorial representations since the Renaissance, which strove to make paintings essential "copies" of nature, Chinese brush paintings express nature through conventionalized graphic "signs" (*cunfa*, "texture patterns") and schemata. Thus in "picturing nature's forms" (*tuxing*), all Chinese paintings could be said to be "copies" of older "pictures" in the sense that they are based on preexisting graphic "signs" that each generation of artists must reactivate with meanings—that is, create new "transformations." Nature and art are viewed as inseparable in Chinese landscape painting: the painter must apprehend at once the "external" realities of Nature while expressing his "interior" Mind or Self. As Shitao put it so beautifully, "Without becoming real mountain peaks, how can texture patterns show their transformations? Without becoming texture patterns, how can real mountain peaks manifest themselves in painting?"¹²⁰

In expressing himself through the visual vocabulary of graphic signs, a Chinese painter must ask, in Nietzsche's words, "Can Nature be subdued to art's constraint?"¹²¹ Here, what we see in Dong Qichang's and Shitao's paintings neatly parallels the modernist movement in Western painting as described by Clement Greenberg: "Realistic, illusionist art had dissembled the medium, using art to conceal art. Modernism used art to call attention to art. The



limitations that constitute the medium of painting—the flat surface . . . the properties of color—were treated by the Old Masters as negative factors that could be acknowledged only implicitly or indirectly. Modernist painting has come to regard these same limitations as positive factors that are to be acknowledged openly.”¹²² In turning to calligraphy, Dong Qichang and his followers—Wang Hui and Shitao included—emphasized spontaneously executed brushwork in the planar structure of the flat picture surface, using not only brush, ink, and paper but also the human body itself as their expressive media.

In the United States, in the immediate decades following World War II, there was a great surge of interest in Sinology and Chinese art history, in particular, Chinese paintings of the Ming and Qing periods (1368–1911). In “A New Approach to Chinese Painting” (1950), Jean-Pierre Dubosc attacked the then prevalent Western preference for Song-style paintings (or copies and imitations thereof) as “a symbol of the taste and of the ignorance of a past generation.”¹²³ Quoting André Malraux, Dubosc wrote, “If . . . ‘present sensibility is far from being favourable to Song painting,’ as Malraux points out with reason, ‘it is, in fact, because this [Song-style] painting does not answer to anything that really torments us.’”¹²⁴ He characterized the works of Dong Qichang and Wang Yuanqi as “‘Theme and Variations’ . . . [that] remind us in fact of Cézanne [who represented] the new vision . . . [of] a more analytical study of form . . . the ‘realization,’ in a Cézannian sense, of a certain *motif*.” By comparing Dong Qichang with Cézanne, Dubosc implicitly suggested a parallel between early Qing Chinese painting and the twentieth-century modernist movement in Western art.¹²⁵



In the early 1960s George Kubler, the esteemed specialist in Precolumbian art, observed that “a recent phenomenon in Europe and America, perhaps not antedating 1950, is the approaching exhaustion of the possibility of new discoveries of major types in the history of [Western] art.” He noted that “the recent advent of Western action painting has prompted the revaluation of a similar tradition in Chinese painting since the ninth century—a tradition to which the West was insensitive until recent years.”¹²⁶ When the Earl Morse collection of Wang Hui’s paintings was first shown in 1969, in an exhibition entitled “In Pursuit of Antiquity,” the critic Katharine Kuh wrote:

These words [describing Wang Hui’s calligraphic paintings] seem vaguely familiar. Not so long ago they might have described certain Abstract Expressionist canvases, especially

Fig. 43. Brice Marden (b. 1938). *Grove IV*, 1976. Two panels, oil and beeswax on canvas, 6 × 9 ft. (182.9 × 274.3 cm). Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York. Purchased with funds contributed by the National Endowment for the Arts, in Washington, D.C., a Federal agency, matching funds contributed by Sidney Singer, 1976 (77.2288)

Fig. 44. Brice Marden (b. 1938). *Cold Mountain 1 (Path)*, 1988–89. Oil on linen, 9 × 12 ft. (274.3 × 365.8 cm). Private collection

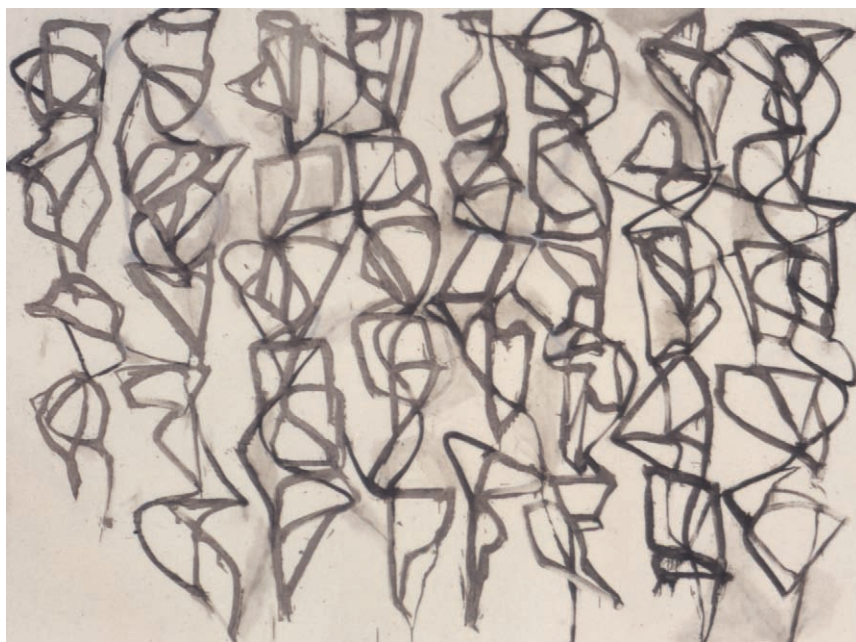
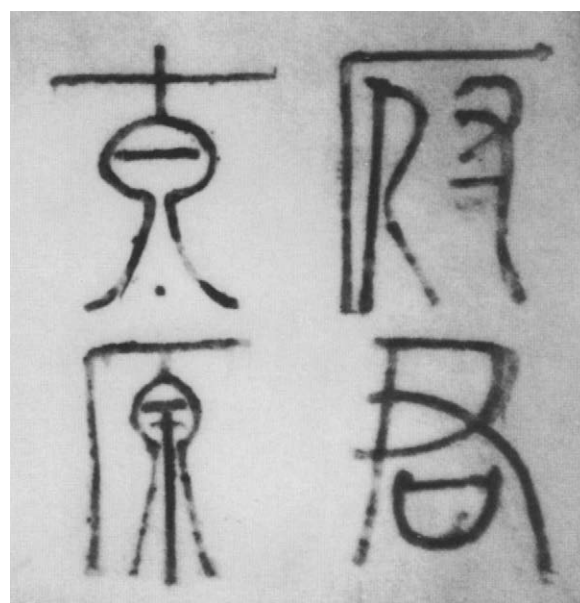


Fig. 45. Brice Marden (b. 1938). *Study for "Epitaph Painting 2,"* 1996. Rubbing of an epitaph cover, Tang dynasty (791 C.E.), with notations by the artist. Ink on paper, cover 24 3/4 × 24 3/4 in. (62.9 × 62.9 cm). Collection of Melia and Mirabelle Marden. The inscription reads, "Epitaph of Mr. Cui of Qinghe and his wife, Madame Wang of Taiyuan, of the Tang [dynasty]." Marden transcribed the four central characters as the basis for his *Epitaph Painting 2* (figs. 46–48)



Figs. 46–48. Brice Marden (b. 1938). *Epitaph Painting 2*, 1996–97. Oil on linen, 94 × 93 1/2 in. (238.8 × 237.5 cm). First state (above), third state (opposite, left), and final state (opposite, right). Courtesy Agnes Gund Collection, New York

those of Jackson Pollock and Franz Kline who also felt that the kinesthetic act became the deed. Possibly they knew about that eighth-century Chinese master who laid silk on the floor, splattered ink on it at will, and, then with the addition of a few lines, turned his accidental composition into a recognizable landscape. The Americans differed from him [Wang Hui] only because the landscapes they produced were limited to their own immediate emotional reactions. His were open to wider involvements.¹²⁷

In *The Shape of Time* (1962), Kubler thematizes the notion of "belatedness" in art-historical writing by likening the gaze of the art historian to that of the astronomer. Defining works of art as "signals . . . as categorical commotions of varying magnitudes of which the occurrence is declared by inbuilt signals analogous to those kinetic energies impounded in masses prevented from falling," Kubler proposes:

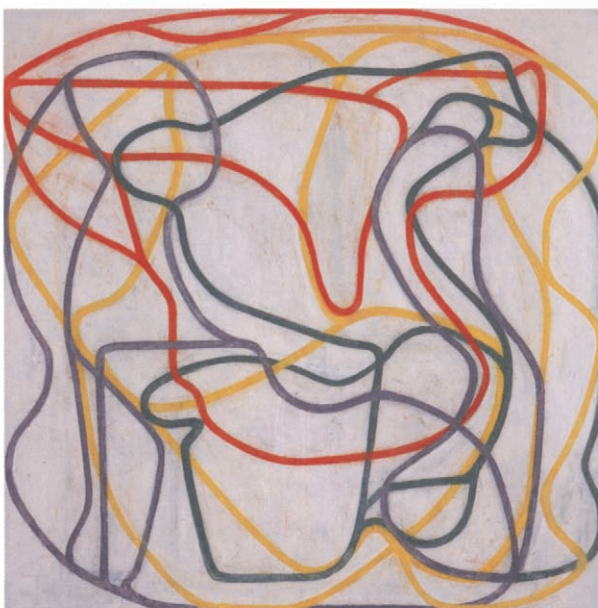
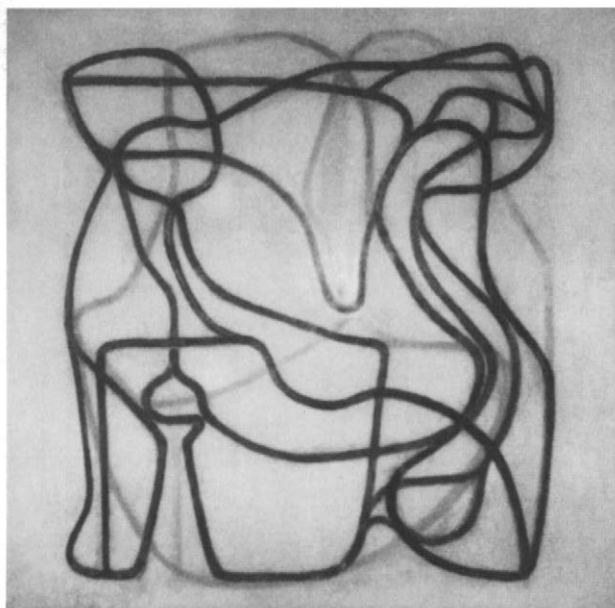
*Knowing the past is as astonishing a performance as knowing the stars. Astronomers look only at old light. There is no other light for them to look at. . . . Many historical events, like astronomical bodies, also occur long before they appear, such as secret treaties; aide-mémoires, or important works of art made for ruling personages. . . . Hence astronomers and [art] historians have this in common: both are concerned with appearances noted in the present but occurring in the past.*¹²⁸

And at the end of his widely admired small volume, Kubler shows an incipient sense of the possible end of the avant-garde.

Radical artistic innovations may perhaps not continue to appear with the frequency we have come to expect in the past century. . . . [Human] invention has always had to halt at the gate of perception where the narrowing of the way allows much less to pass than the importance of the messages or the need of the recipients would justify. How can we increase the inbound traffic at the gate?¹²⁹

In the wake of contemporary art since the 1960s, the effects of photography and performance and installation art, as well as the readymade and the wide availability of mechanically reproduced objects, have served to undermine conservative art-historical notions of "originality."¹³⁰ Postmodern pure art theories, in seeking to bring art close to the praxis of life, view the artwork as an object and not an individual personal expression; they leave out the formal analysis of the artistic practice of the painterly "mark," as in the Chinese brushstroke, that lies at the heart of the aesthetic encounter, the phenomenological transformation that is art.¹³¹

In *Chronophobia* (2004), Pamela Lee examines Kubler's prescient volume in the context of the intersection during the 1960s of art and science (in particular, Robert Smithson's work and Norbert Wiener's *Cybernetics*). Another of Lee's concerns is the current globalizing impulse in art history, as reflected in her analysis of the nomadic artists David Medalla and On Kawara.¹³² From a cross-cultural point of view, it is significant how, most recently, the contemporary



American painter Brice Marden (b. 1938) has reinvented Abstract Expressionism through his encounter with Chinese calligraphy. In the 2006 Marden retrospective at the Museum of Modern Art, the museum's most important recent acquisition, a six-panel, twenty-four-foot-long painting, *The Propitious Garden of Plane Images, Third Version* (fig. 42), proved an enormous triumph for the renowned modernist. How *The Propitious Garden of Plane Images* series (2000–2006) developed from Marden the Minimalist's severe monochromatic rectangles (for example, *Grove IV*, inspired by the Aegean Sea; fig. 43) of thirty years earlier has been hailed by the critic Richard Dornment as "one of the great stories of American art in our time."¹³³

In Marden's Minimalist work of the late 1970s, Dornment writes, "though [the artist] intended to eliminate depth and representation from the picture, the viewer reads the line formed where the two canvases meet as a horizon, with the green canvas below as the sea, and the blue expanse above as the sky. And the moment the eye sees the picture as a seascape, it also sees the green panel as receding into endless space, even though it knows it is actually looking at a flat plane."¹³⁴ Then, in the early 1980s, Marden "suffered a mid-life crisis. . . . In his desire to lose control in making art, to act simply as a receiver and transmitter of the energy of nature, [he] aspire[d] to a Daoist attitude."¹³⁵ He found in a bookstore *The Collected Songs of Cold Mountain* (presumably by an eighth-century Chinese Buddhist monk-poet named Hanshan), translated from the Chinese by Red Pine, in which the English and the Chinese are printed in parallel.¹³⁶ Marden did not read Chinese, but he became intrigued by the idea of creating of a free personal style based on characters

that are composed strictly according to a grid. Thus started his *Cold Mountain* series (fig. 44), in which each painting consists of four couplets, five characters deep, arranged vertically across the surface in a grid. Linking the forms together, Marden worked toward achieving "an all-over unity, a nexus of figures which communicate with each other in a multiplicity of ways."¹³⁷

As Marden himself has made clear in interviews since the early 1990s, the catalyst for this stunning change was his discovery in the 1980s and 1990s of Chinese calligraphy and landscape painting, which show three-dimensional movements in the flat picture plane.¹³⁸ Marden paints with a three-foot-long stick of ailanthus, so that he is distanced from the picture surface, and "the whole movement of [his] body is involved with the structure of the image."¹³⁹ The slowness of Marden's lines, however, makes them different from true Chinese calligraphic movements. In an interview with Marden in May 1997, Jonathan Hay asked about this "slow movement." Marden replied, "My painting has to do with the presence of the image. . . . As I worked with the more figural ideas, the paintings became much more about the movement of the body, making the gesture." He also noted that "one of the interesting things to emerge from the *Cold Mountain* paintings was how they started out looking as if they were based on calligraphy, and ended up looking as if they were based on Chinese [landscape] painting."¹⁴⁰ Then, in another interview in October 1997, Marden added, "My paintings tend to be slow. . . . It's a quiet hum that builds. . . . I don't aim for impact. . . . The *Cold Mountain* paintings were about resolving the paintings I had been doing for five years before that, which I think needed a . . . push toward a resolution."¹⁴¹

Marden's interest in what he calls the "glyph" also led him to study Chinese grave stele epitaphs (fig. 45). Through a rigorous interrogation of the "glyph"—a family of images, including Chinese calligraphy, that comprises strongly angular, geometric forms based on a grid¹⁴²—Marden the draftsman-*cum*-colorist synthesizes the rhythms of nature with an insistence on the primacy of the opaque picture plane, producing a "meditative object" of dense "presence" that rewards repeated viewing (figs. 46–48). It is part of the artist's search for an idiom or convention that will endow what he paints with the sense of sheer rightness or "presentness"—the prior logic, natural or transcendental—shared by all great works of art. "What really interests me is energy," emphasizes Marden. "I still adhere to this definition of a work of art as a constantly renewable source of energy. When anyone looks at it and begins to comprehend it, they're energized. . . . It's like having the Qi come up through your body and [be] translated onto the paper."¹⁴³

Thus, in the final decade of the twentieth century, Marden was reeled back into the modernist frame of reference through the ancient Chinese *qi*, the primordial concept of life's "breath" or energy. By displacing mimetic representation with a self-conscious mode of artistic practice, and by incorporating the painter's bodily gesture and mark into the material painting surface, modern abstract painting becomes the physical *presentation* of the painter himself, just as the calligraphic brushstroke declares the physical presence of the artist in Chinese painting history.

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1. Hearn 1990.
2. For Wang Hui's "Great Synthesis," see Whitfield 1969.
3. See Fong 1967.
4. Chang Chin-Sung 2004.
5. Lang Shaojun 1993. See also Fong 2001, pp. 12–18, 24–26, 90–94.
6. Lang Shaojun 1993, pp. 836, 867.
7. Spence 1976, p. 148.
8. Chou 1994, p. 35.
9. See Huang 1990, pp. 149ff.; and Fong 1996a. See also Fong 1968; Ho, Wai-kam 1976; and Fong 1992b.
10. See Fong forthcoming b.
11. Dong Qichang, *Random Notes from the Painting Chan Studio* (*Huachanshi suibi*, ca. 1620), in *Zhongguo hualun leibian* 1973, vol. 2, p. 720.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., pp. 726, 712, 726–27.
14. For a brilliant comparison of the paintings of Zhang Hong and Dong Qichang, see Cahill 1982a, pp. 1–69. See also Fong 1986.

15. In Zhang Geng, *Guochao huazheng lu* (1956 ed.), for example, the biography of Zhang Hong contains less than two lines.
16. Cahill 1992; and Fong 1992b.
17. Fong 1976–77.
18. See *ibid.*, p. 15.
19. See *ibid.*
20. Dong Qichang, *Hua yan* (1962 ed.), p. 10; see also Fong 1976–77, pp. 17–18.
21. For the origin of the technical term *pima cun*, see Han Zhuo, *Collection of Chunquan's Essays on Landscape Painting* (*Shanshui Chunquan ji*), in *Zhongguo hualun leibian* 1973, vol. 2, p. 667; see also Maeda 1970, p. 25.
22. Dong Qichang, *Hua yan* (1962 ed.), p. 21.
23. Riely 1974–75.
24. Guo Xi, *Lofty Ambition in Forests and Streams* (*Linguan gaozhi*), compiled by his son Guo Si, in *Zhongguo hualun leibian* 1973, vol. 1, p. 642.
25. For a full documentation of this important work by Dong Yuan, see Barnhart 1970, p. 31, n. 71.
26. Mi Fu, *Painting History* (*Hua shi*), in *Zhongguo hualun leibian* 1973, vol. 2, p. 653.
27. The other was *Riverbank*, by Dong Yuan; see Fong 1999.
28. Fong forthcoming a.
29. Fong forthcoming b.
30. For Gu Kaizhi, see Zhang Yanyuan, *Lidai minghua ji* (1963 ed.), chap. 5, pp. 70–71.
31. For Zong Bing, *Introduction to Landscape Painting* (*Hua shanshui xu*), see Bush 1983, pp. 132–64 (quotation on p. 145).
32. See Fong 1966.
33. For Zhang Zao, see Zhang Yanyuan, *Lidai minghua ji* (1963 ed.), chap. 10, p. 121.
34. Fong 1966.
35. Riely 1992, p. 387.
36. Dong Qichang, *Hua yan* (1962 ed.), p. 40.
37. Ibid.
38. See Riely 1974–75, p. 58.
39. See *Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang* 1992, vol. 2, p. 66, no. 53.
40. See Dong Qichang, *Hua yan* (1962 ed.), pp. 37–38.
41. Ibid., pp. 36–37.
42. *Gugong shubua lu* 1956, vol. 2, chap. 5, pp. 17–19.
43. See Richard Vinograd's entry on this painting in *Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang* 1992, vol. 2, pp. 43–44, no. 32. Vinograd points out that Wang Meng's painting, which bears a colophon by Dong Qichang describing it as the "supreme Wang Shu-ming [Wang Meng] painting in the world," had been in the possession of the renowned collector Xiang Yuanbian (1525–1590), a fact well known to Dong in his youth in Huating.
44. See Fong 2003, pp. 272–76.
45. See Maxwell Hearn's entry in *Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang* 1992, vol. 2, pp. 78–79, no. 62. See also Fong 1984, pp. 174–77.
46. See Richard Vinograd's entry in *Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang* 1992, vol. 2, p. 83, no. 66.
47. See Bush 1962.
48. See Zhang Geng, *Guochao huazheng lu* (1956 ed.), p. 1b.
49. See Barnhart 1970–71.
50. See Fong 1984, pp. 178–79.
51. See *Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang* 1992.
52. *Gugong shubua lu* 1956, vol. 3, chap. 6, pp. 68–72.
53. See Lee, Sherman E., and Fong 1955, p. 10, esp. n. 17. See also Xu Bangda 1984, *juan xia*, pp. 152–55; and Xu Bangda 1993, p. 498.
54. See Fong 1996c, pp. 474–76. For various views concerning the authorship of this famous album, see esp. Chang Joseph 1993; and Xu Bangda 1993.
55. Reprinted in Qi Gong 1981, pp. 161–63.
56. See the entry by Roderick Whitfield in *Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang* 1992, vol. 2, pp. 137–38, no. 125.
57. Fong 1962, pp. 101–2.
58. For a discussion of the Northern Song "three-distant views," see Guo Xi in his *Lofty Ambition in Forests and Streams* (*Linguan*

- gaozhi), compiled by his son Guo Si, in *Zhongguo hualun leibian* 1973, vol. 1, p. 639.
59. See *Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang* 1992, vol. 1, pp. 356–59, pl. 125, 1–12.
 60. See Fong 1976–77, p. 15.
 61. Chang Joseph 1993.
 62. See the entry by Roderick Whitfield in *Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang* 1992, vol. 2, pp. 183–85, no. 164.
 63. See Liu Yiping 1993; and Shen Deqian, “Wang Hui muzhi-ming” (1966 ed.).
 64. Yun Shouping, *Colophons of [Yun Shouping's] Ouxiang Studio (Ouxiang Guan huaba)* in *Huaxue xinyin* 1968, chap. 5, p. 23a.
 65. See *Gugong shuhua lu* 1956, vol. 3, chap. 6, p. 70.
 66. Wang Hui, *Wang Hui's Colophons on Painting (Qinghui huaba)*, in *Huaxue xinyin* 1968, chap. 4, p. 100.
 67. Dong Qichang, *Hua yan* (1962 ed.), p. 45.
 68. Wang Hui, *Wang Hui's Colophons on Painting (Qinghui huaba)*, in *Huaxue xinyin* 1968, chap. 4, p. 100.
 69. Chang Chin-Sung 2004, pp. 138–41.
 70. See Bush 1962.
 71. Wang Yuanqi, *Jottings Beside a Rain-Splashed Window (Yuchuang manbi)*, in *Huaxue xinyin* 1968, chap. 7, pp. 165–66.
 72. See Whitfield 1969, pp. 114–16. Whitfield had misjudged this painting (in 1969) as “a very early replica of Wang Hui's painting of this subject” (p. 114).
 73. Translations modified from *ibid.*, p. 115.
 74. See Jiang Chun 1962, p. 313.
 75. See Fong 1996c, pp. 479–82.
 76. For a transcript of these letters, see Jiang Chun 1962, pp. 309–13.
 77. Zhou Lianggong, *Dubua lu* (1968 ed.), p. 20.
 78. Fong 1996c, pp. 482–84.
 79. *Gugong shuhua lu* 1956, vol. 2, chap. 5, p. 37.
 80. For Liang Qingbiao's seals on Fan Kuan's *Travelers amid Streams and Mountains*, see *ibid.*, p. 36.
 81. See above, p. 20.
 82. See *Gugong shuhua lu* 1956, vol. 2, chap. 5, p. 37, where the Qianlong emperor's encomium is left recorded.
 83. See Fong 1984, pp. 190–92.
 84. See above, p. 23.
 85. Zhang Geng, *Guochao huazheng lu* (1956 ed.), chap. 1, p. 11.
 86. *Ibid.*, chap. 2, pp. 1a–1b.
 87. See below, p. 41.
 88. Whitfield 1969, p. 143, no. 17.
 89. See Cahill 1982a, chap. 6, “Wang Yuan-ch'i [Wang Yuanqi] and Tao-ch'i [Shitao]: The Culmination of Method and No-Method,” pp. 184–225.
 90. See *ibid.*, p. 216.
 91. *Ibid.*, p. 219.
 92. *Ibid.*, p. 225.
 93. *Ibid.*, p. 218. For a careful reading of this sentence, see Zhu Liangzhi 2005, pp. 35–36.
 94. See Shitao, *Album Painted for Master Mingliu* (Leaf E), dated 1694, Los Angeles County Museum of Art. See Fu, Marilyn, and Fu, Shen 1973, pp. 52–53, fig. 18.
 95. See Yu Jianhua 1962.
 96. Zhu Liangzhi 2005, pp. 35–36.
 97. Chou 1969, p. 108.
 98. See *ibid.*, pp. 109–17.
 99. See Zhu Liangzhi 2005, p. 158.
 100. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
 101. See Fong 1976, pp. 17ff.
 102. See Zheng Zhuo-lu 1961, pp. 49–50.
 103. Shitao, *Huayu lu* (1989 ed.), p. 93.
 104. See Fong 1958.
 105. Shitao, *Huayu lu* (1989 ed.), p. 95.
 106. “Biyin fengzhi tiyi, fengzhi miansheng, fengyu cunhe, cunzi fengsheng. . . . Bude qifeng heyibian? Bude qicun heyixian?” *Ibid.*, pp. 98–99.
 107. “Yihua zhe zihua xianyou zhi genbenye; Zihua zhe yihua houtian zhi jingquanye.” *Ibid.*, p. 103.
 108. See n. 33, above.
 109. Cai Yong, *Jiu shi* (1708 ed.).
 110. Greenberg 1939, pp. 34–35; and Greenberg 1940, p. 310.
 111. Mote 1976, p. 6.
 112. Clunas 1991, pp. 91–92.
 113. Clunas 2002, p. 251.
 114. Gell 1998, pp. 137, 139–40.
 115. For traditional Chinese genealogical art historiography and what Zhang Yanyuan (active mid-ninth century) called “the transmission of teaching and schools [*shizhi chuanshou*],” see Fong 2003.
 116. See Clunas 2002, p. 251.
 117. See Fu, Marilyn, and Fu, Shen 1973, p. 47.
 118. See Fong 1967, p. 133.
 119. See Fong forthcoming b.
 120. See above, pp. 39–40.
 121. Nietzsche, *Sherz, List und Rache* (Leipzig, 1895), quoted in Gombrich 1960, p. 86.
 122. Greenberg 1965, p. 194.
 123. Dubosc 1950, p. 57.
 124. André Malraux, *Psychologie de l'art: Le Musée imaginaire* (Geneva, 1947), p. 50, quoted in Dubosc 1950, p. 56.
 125. Dubosc 1950, pp. 51, 53, 54.
 126. Kubler 1962, pp. 11, 123; see also p. 127. For a literary description of “splattered-ink” landscapes by the eighth-century “untrammeled” artist Wang Mo, see Shimada Shujiro 1961–64.
 127. Kuh 1969, p. 61.
 128. Kubler 1962, pp. 19, 20.
 129. *Ibid.*, pp. 123–24.
 130. See Harrison 2006.
 131. For recent Western discussions of the artist's “mark,” see Rosand 1988; and Rosand 2002.
 132. See Lee, Pamela M. 2004; and Meyer 2006.
 133. See Dormant 2006, p. 8.
 134. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
 135. See Lewison 1992, pp. 46, 52.
 136. *Collected Songs of Cold Mountain* 1983.
 137. Lewison 1992, p. 53.
 138. Interview with Wen Fong at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991; Hay 1997; Zhang, Yiguo 1998.
 139. See Hay 1997, p. 19.
 140. *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 26.
 141. Zhang, Yiguo 1998, pp. 131, 132; see also p. 129.
 142. See Kertess 1992, pp. 41–49.
 143. Zhang, Yiguo 1998, p. 131.



Wang Hui: The Evolution of a Master Landscapist

Chin-Sung Chang

EMULATING THE ANCIENTS: THE FORMATIVE YEARS

One of the most celebrated painters in late imperial China, Wang Hui emerged from a humble background. He was born in 1632 into a commoner family in Yushan (Mount Yu), a village near Changshu in present-day Jiangsu Province (map 1).¹ Members of his family had been renowned local professional painters for generations. His great-grandfather Wang Bochen, grandfather Wang Zaishi, father Wang Huanlong, and uncle Wang Huan'ao all made their living by producing landscapes and bird-and-flower paintings in Yushan.² Wang Hui undoubtedly received his early training through the family business, and his precocious interest in painting is confirmed by the story that even as a child he drew on walls with a reed.

Wang Hui is also recorded as having studied painting under the guidance of the local painter Zhang Ke (active mid-seventeenth century), who followed the regional tradition of the late Yuan master Huang Gongwang (1269–1354)³ and gained renown in the area for his “myriad mountains, layered peaks, tall trees, and deep forests.”⁴ Firmly rooted in the painting practice of the region, the artistic legacy of Huang Gongwang was most eloquently expressed in a poem written by Wang Jiazhen to Wang Hui in 1692: “There were many painter-immortals in our Wu region. The greatest of all was certainly Yifeng [Huang Gongwang]. His sketches were all of Yushan.”⁵ Zhang Ke was no exception in emulating Huang. His style name, Small Fool from the Green Mountains (Bishan Xiaochi), was inspired by Huang’s style name, Great Fool (Dachi).⁶ As Zhang Ke’s student, Wang Hui must have devoted much time to learning Huang’s pictorial idiom.

In 1651 the nineteen-year-old Wang Hui’s fortunes changed dramatically when he met the Orthodox School painter Wang Jian (1598–1677), a grandson of the literary luminary Wang Shizhen (1526–1590) and a former governor-general of Yanzhou. Some forty years later, Wang Hui recalled this crucial turning point in his career:

From childhood, I have loved ink and paper. Whenever I encountered an ancient masterwork, I immediately copied it and tried to grasp its essence. I always wanted to follow the Orthodox path, but could not attain it. At just that time, my [future] teacher Wang Yanzhou [Wang Jian] visited Yushan from Loudong [Taicang]. Upon seeing my fan painting of a small landscape, he expressed astonishment and kept the painting in his sleeve. That evening, Magistrate Sun [Chaozhang] hosted a banquet at a mountain pavilion. There were scores of guests. As flute music and song enlivened the mood, Master Wang pulled my fan painting out of his sleeve and gazed at it intently, unable to put it down. Happily

Pl. 13. Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Landscape after Wu Zhen’s “Mountain Passes on a Clear Autumn Day,”* dated 1686 (detail, pl. 25)

Map 1. The Jiangnan ("South of the [Yangzi] River") region of China, showing modern political boundaries



inebriated, he showed the painting to the other guests and praised my work more than it deserved. Everyone was astonished. Master Wang then asked them to acknowledge me with applause. Expressing my courtesy and respect, I decided to become his student. Later, I showed Master Wang a long handscroll by Dong Qichang [1555–1636] and commented on its qualities. Shortly thereafter, I parted from my teacher [Wang Jian] with appropriate words of farewell.⁷

This anecdote makes clear that while Wang Hui was considered a child prodigy in Yushan, in 1651 he was still unknown in the neighboring town of Taicang. And while he strove to emulate the ancient masters, his source of inspiration was the art and theories of the influential late Ming painter and theorist Dong Qichang, whom Wang Jian also followed. Indeed, showing Wang Jian his respect for Dong Qichang must have been a calculated gesture to win the older master's approval.⁸

LIFE AT TAICANG

In 1652 Wang Jian wrote a letter to Wang Hui inviting him to his new villa in Taicang, the Fragrance-Tinged Hermitage (Ranxiang An). Soon after his arrival, Wang Hui was introduced to the eminent collector and painter Wang Shimin

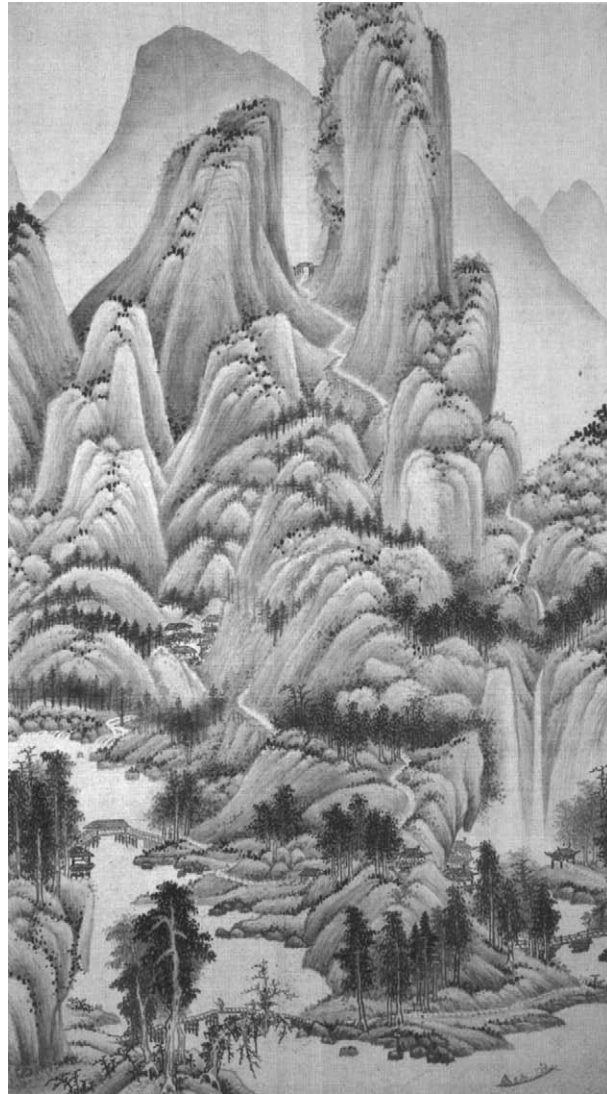
(1592–1680), who played a leading role in perpetuating Dong Qichang's theory and practice of painting. Wang Shimin encouraged the young painter to study the Song and Yuan paintings in his collection at the Hall of Humble Refinements (Zhuoxiu Tang). It is generally assumed that Wang Hui became "painter-in-residence" at the Wang Shimin household and was provided with accommodations and a certain amount of money in return for producing paintings. But the view that "Wang Hui worked for almost 30 years under the direction of the two elder Wangs [Shimin and Jian], reaching his prime during the 1670s and 1680s"⁹ overstates his dependence on these mentors. Nevertheless, Wang Hui's intensive study of Wang Shimin's collection was of great significance in the formation of his early art. All his early patrons—Tang Yuzhao (1602–1672), Gu Mei (1633–after 1671), Qian Qianyi (1582–1664), and Wu Weiye (1609–1671)—were close friends of Wang Shimin. The elder artist was also a key figure in promoting the younger's reputation in the south, as evidenced by the numerous colophons, inscriptions, and titles that he added to Wang Hui's paintings.¹⁰

No paintings survive from those Wang Hui made in the 1650s for Wang Shimin and Wang Jian. However, his early masterwork *Landscape after Wu Zhen's*



Fig. 49. Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Landscape after Wu Zhen's "Mountain Passes on a Clear Autumn Day,"* dated 1655. Hanging scroll, ink on paper (?), H. ca. 78 ¾ in. (200 cm). Location unknown

Fig. 50. Chen Lian (ca. 1590s–ca. 1640s). *Landscape after Wu Zhen's "Mountain Passes on a Clear Autumn Day,"* Leaf K in *To See Large within Small*, late 1620s. Ink and light color on silk, 22 ½ × 13 ¾ in. (56.3 × 34.8 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei



"*Mountain Passes on a Clear Autumn Day*," dated 1655 (fig. 49),¹¹ was painted for a friend of Wang Shimin, the noted Changzhou (Piling) collector Tang Yuzhao.¹² Furthermore, Wang's painting is closely modeled on a work preserved in Wang Shimin's collection as a reduced-size copy in *To See Large within Small* (*Xiaozhong xianda*), an album of twenty-two copies of compositions by old masters, with Dong Qichang's inscriptions (National Palace Museum, Taipei; fig. 50). Although this album was traditionally attributed to Wang Shimin and is currently reattributed to Chen Lian (ca. 1590s–ca. 1640s), its authorship is still disputed.¹³ In his inscription Wang Hui mentions that "Wu Zhen once painted a picture in the style of Dong Yuan's *Mountain Passes on a Clear*

Autumn Day. In the ninth [lunar] month of the *yiwei* year [1655], I imitated this painting, following his idea, and asked the venerable Mr. Kongming [Tang Yuzhao] to evaluate it." Wang Hui's reputation as a skilled copyist remained an important feature of his career. The renowned Taicang poet and scholar-official Huang Yujian (1623–1704) later asked the painter to create another copy of the same composition.¹⁴ Wang Hui's *Landscape after Wu Zhen's "Mountain Passes on a Clear Autumn Day,"* dated 1688 (pls. 13, 25), is almost identical in size and composition to his 1655 version for Tang Yuzhao. In his inscription, Wang Hui makes it clear he based this impressive landscape on the reduced-copy version in the *To See Large within Small* album.¹⁵



Pl. 14 (cat. 3). Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Clearing after Rain over Streams and Mountains*, dated 1662. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 44 ½ × 17 ¾ in. (113 × 45.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of John M. Crawford Jr., 1988 (1989.363.141)

Although it is likely that Wang Shimin introduced Tang Yuzhao to Wang Hui and provided him with the model from his collection, the younger artist was clearly expanding his contacts with other important collectors. Decades later, in 1684, the prominent scholar Gu Zuyu (1631–1692) recalled how Wang Hui had initially studied Song and Yuan paintings under Wang Shimin's special guidance.¹⁶ According to Gu, while Wang Shimin continued to provide enthusiastic support, Wang Hui received many invitations from clients and traveled frequently to various towns both in the region and beyond. Often, it was even difficult for Wang Shimin to see Wang Hui.¹⁷ Gu further noted that Wang Hui's replicas of the Song and Yuan paintings in Wang Shimin's collection were indistinguishable from the originals, and his paintings became enormously appealing to many collectors and clients.¹⁸ Gu's account of Wang Hui suggests that he rapidly progressed from Wang Shimin's painter-in-residence to one of the most sought-after painters of the time, and his painting for Tang Yuzhao implies that he had already become an artist of independent means by 1655.

THE TWO WANGS AND HUANG GONGWANG

As Gu Zuyu suggested, Wang Shimin's collection was one of the primary resources for studying Song and Yuan paintings in the Jiangnan ("South of the [Yangzi] River") area.¹⁹ Its sources are elucidated in Wang Shimin's colophon, dated 1671, to Wang Hui's replica of Fan Kuan's *Travelers amid Streams and Mountains* (see pl. 7, fig. 33): "Of the Song and Yuan masterpieces in my family collection, two-fifths were acquired in the capital and the other three-fifths came from Dong Qichang. I loved them no less than essential parts of my own body. With the passage of time and as circumstances have changed, only one- or two-tenths of what I once owned still remains."²⁰

Beginning in 1605, as tutor to Wang Shimin, Dong Qichang helped Wang acquire works from his own renowned collection and also advised him on the purchase of others. The Taipei *To See Large within Small* album documents many of the Song and Yuan masterworks that Wang Shimin had acquired by the late 1620s.²¹ This album, one of the most important sources for Song and Yuan models throughout the seventeenth century, was accessible to only a few painters.²² That Wang Hui was permitted to make replicas of it, as evidenced by his own *To See Large within Small* album, dated 1672 (Shanghai Museum), attests to his privileged status (see figs. 27, 28).²³ And

his early paintings were largely concerned with grasping the essential pictorial vocabularies of these ancient masters.

Clearing after Rain over Streams and Mountains, dated 1662 (pl. 14), shows Wang Hui attempting to create a new landscape style by freely adapting elements from the *To See Large within Small* album. According to Wang's inscription, the painting is in the style of Juran (active ca. 960–85). The tall trees in the foreground, the cluster of hills in the middle ground, and the angular distant mountains in the background all recall *Landscape after Juran's "Snow Scene"* in the Taipei album (see fig. 19). But Wang Hui does not simply imitate the Song composition. Reducing its outlines and texture strokes, he presents a serene landscape of hills and mountains depicted in thin outlines and subtle ink washes. The wet surfaces he imparts to the mountain forms enliven the composition. The seamless progression of repeated triangular hills from front to back reveals Wang's efforts to transform the Song painting's tripartite spatial arrangement into an illusion of continuous recession by uniting all the pictorial units.

Landscape in the Style of Juran, dated 1664 (see pl. 3), further reveals Wang Hui's reinterpretation of *Landscape after Juran's "Snow Scene."* In order to emphasize the monumentality of his model, Wang links the foreground trees and hills with the towering mountains in the background, fusing the compositional units into a single mass animated by the vibrant rhythm of his calligraphic hemp-fiber texture. The lush brushwork gives life and energy to the mountain forms, while the continuous recession from the foreground to the far distance creates an organic pictorial structure in which the interconnected compositional parts achieve balance and harmony. The monumental structure of the landscape and the active use of energetic brushwork in *Landscape in the Style of Juran* coalesce into a device that came to be called the "dragon vein," a compositional innovation marking a great transition in Wang Hui's stylistic development.²⁴

In addition to copying the varied Song and Yuan masterworks in the *To See Large within Small* album during his stay with Wang Shimin, Wang Hui devoted himself to mastering the style of Huang Gongwang. Wang Shimin's own preference for this artist is clearly expressed in one of his inscriptions: "Of all the masters, I prize Ziji [Huang Gongwang] the most because his painting goes beyond brush and ink; it has a kind of wild, primordial spirit, almost derived from Heavenly Creation itself. This is definitely not something one can reach through skill and exertion. . . . My



Fig. 51. Wang Jian (1598–1677). *Landscape after Huang Gongwang's "Floating Mists and Distant Peaks,"* dated 1675. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, $53\frac{1}{8} \times 31$ in. (134.9 × 78.8 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei

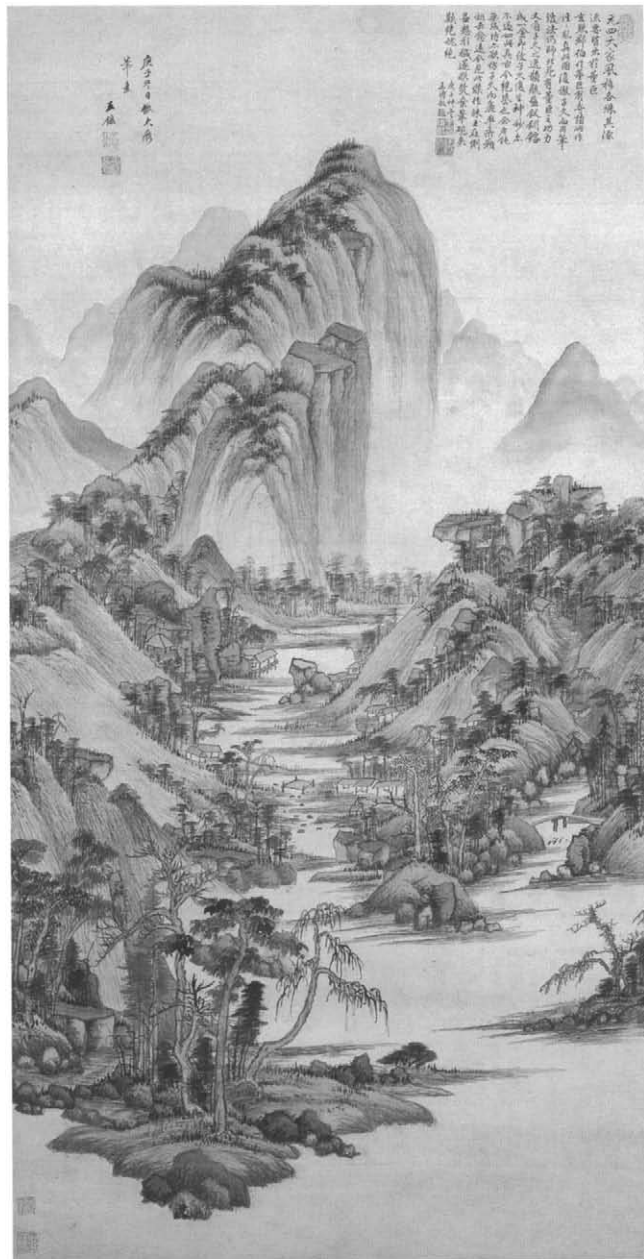


Fig. 52. Wang Jian (1598–1677). *Landscape in the Style of Huang Gongwang,* dated 1660. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, $48\frac{1}{4} \times 24\frac{1}{4}$ in. (122.5 × 61.5 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing

collection has always had one or two of his paintings which I copied day and night. I have done this until I am old, but I am still without one bit of enlightenment.”²⁵ In the same inscription, Wang Shimin acknowledges that he was obsessed with seeking out works by Huang Gongwang and that he had seen more than twenty of his paintings by 1648.²⁶ Among those that Wang Shimin had either seen or collected, *Deep Forest in a Steep Valley*, *Floating Mists and Warm Greenery*, *Summer Mountains*, *after Dong Yuan*, and *Autumn Mountains* are most frequently referred to in his inscriptions and colophons or repeatedly drawn upon for his own paintings.²⁷

Huang's *Deep Forest in a Steep Valley* is no longer extant, but a reduced copy of the original is in *To See Large within Small*.²⁸ Despite its inclusion in the album, it seems that neither Dong Qichang nor Wang Shimin owned the painting, which had been in the collection of Gu Zhengyi (active ca. 1575–97).²⁹ Wang Shimin

and Wang Jian equally admired *Floating Mists and Warm Greenery*, a painting that does not appear in *To See Large within Small*. In his colophon to *Landscape after Dong Yuan's "Summer Mountains,"* however, Dong Qichang states that it was once in the collection of Xiang Xuandu (Xiang Dehong; active ca. late sixteenth–early seventeenth century) and was, along with *Summer Mountains, after Dong Yuan*, one of two Huang Gongwang paintings done after Dong Yuan.³⁰ Wang Jian's *Landscape after Huang Gongwang's "Floating Mists and Distant Peaks"* provides a suggestion of what the original must have looked like (fig. 51).³¹

That *Autumn Mountains* was the Huang Gongwang painting most admired and coveted by Wang Shimin is revealed by his inscription on his own evocation of the composition:³²

Formerly, in Jingkou at the home of Zhang Xiuyu [Zhang Jinchen], I saw Dachi's [Huang Gongwang's] *Autumn*

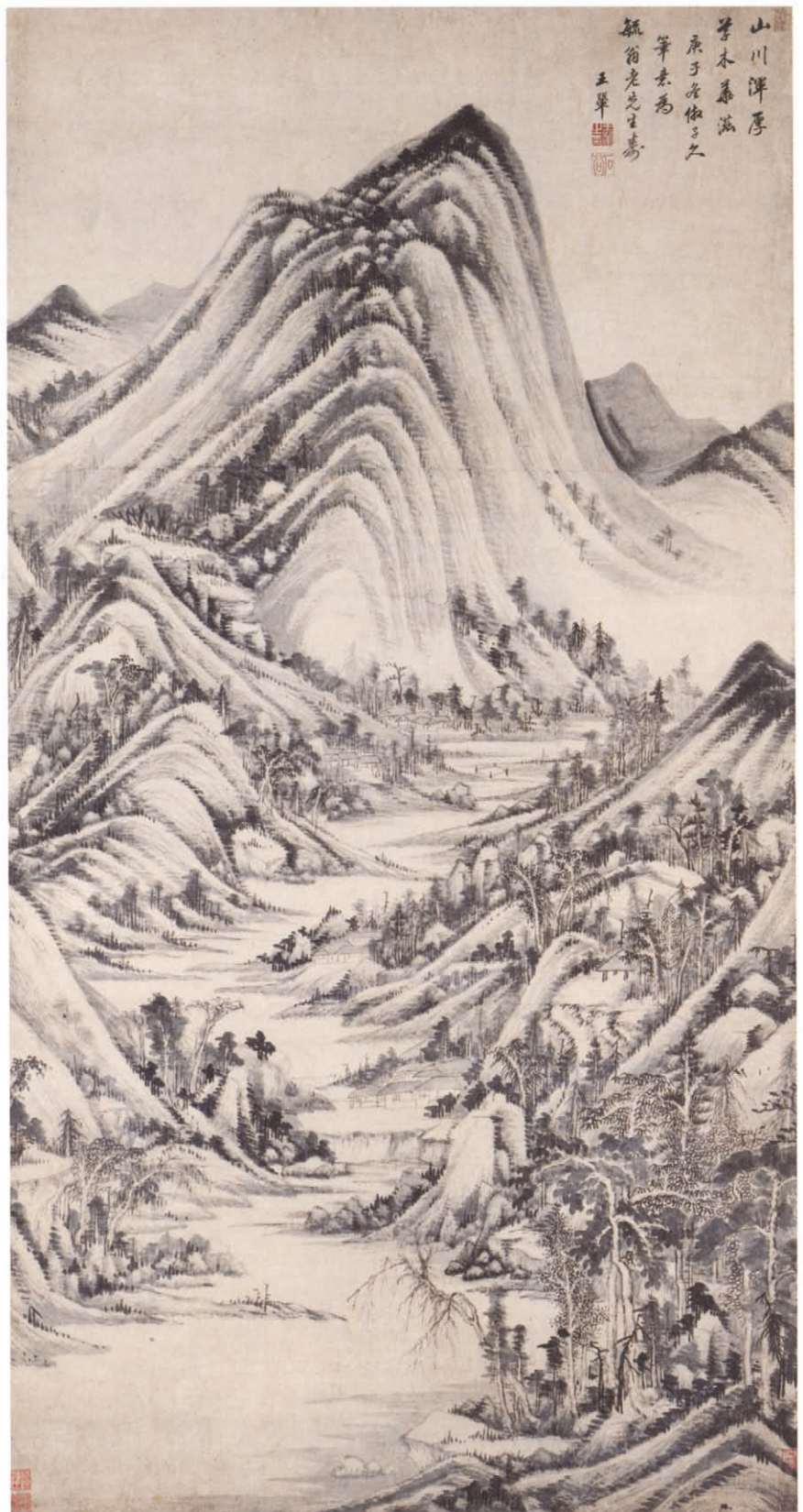
Mountains in color. I studied and enjoyed it all day, and could not leave it. Afterward I could not get it out of my mind; every time I passed there I had to stop again to look at it. But because Xinyu has taken it to his bamboo retreat, I can no longer see it. In the third [lunar] month of 1631, I was in a boat heading north to my post with nothing to do but play with brush and ink, and I imitated his [Huang's] intent. It was finished in three days. My brushwork was weak and immature and I was embarrassed. I stored it in a box and never opened it.³³

Despite his obsessive longing for *Autumn Mountains*, Wang Shimin never acquired it.³⁴ The owner, Zhang Jinchen (active 1610s–30s), was a close friend of Dong Qichang.³⁵ Wang Shimin carried Dong Qichang's letter of introduction when he visited Zhang's residence in Jingkou (present-day Zhenjiang, Jiangsu Province), where he saw *Autumn Mountains*.³⁶ (Wang Jian was also familiar with this work, as he had seen it together with Dong Qichang about 1630.)³⁷ The painter Yun Shouping (1633–1690) reported that, unlike most of Huang Gongwang's extant works, which are monochromatic, *Autumn Mountains* "used blue-and-green coloration, and the red leaves of the forest are rendered bright as fire, being dotted with ground vermillion."³⁸

Landscape in the Style of Huang Gongwang, dated 1660 (pl. 15), exemplifies Wang Hui's early preoccupation with mastering Huang's pictorial idiom. The colophon by Wu Hufan (1894–1968), mounted above the painting (see Catalogue, no. 1), tells in detail of Wang Hui's study of the artist during his stay with Wang Shimin:

When Shiguzi [Wang Hui] was a young man, he served his teachers, the two Wangs, and received from them all the secrets [of painting]. [In his art,] both the form and the spirit are complete. This painting is a copy by Shigu, at the age of twenty-nine sui, of Xiangbi's [Wang Jian's] composition in the style of Chiweng [Huang Gongwang]. Not only are the brush and ink used with great skill, but also if it were placed among Xiangbi's paintings of his middle years there would not be [seen] the slightest difference.³⁹

Wang Jian's *Landscape in the Style of Huang Gongwang*, dated 1660 (fig. 52), is probably the painting that Wu Hufan believed Wang Hui had consulted in the creation of his work. The two hanging scrolls, painted in the winter of 1660, both show a level-distance vista that draws the viewer deep into a mountain valley, as tall peaks in the background provide a sense of dominance and stability. But there are marked differences between the two works. Wang Jian's composition lacks a sense of depth or movement; his forms are two-dimensional, his brushwork



Pl. 15 (cat. 1). Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Landscape in the Style of Huang Gongwang*, dated 1660. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 68 ½ × 35 ¼ in. (174 × 89.6 cm). Princeton University Art Museum, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse, in honor of Wen C. Fong, Class of 1951 and Graduate School Class of 1958, and Constance Tang Fong (y1969-70)

schematic. In Wang Hui's painting, the complex, vigorous brushwork vividly describes the overlapping folds of mountains and hills. Distant peaks are built up of vibrant hemp-fiber texture strokes and rich ink washes. Trees, rocks, banks, and hills are meticulously detailed. Wang Hui also reorganized the composition

Fig. 53. Chen Lian (ca. 1590s–ca. 1640s). *Landscape after Huang Gongwang's "Summer Mountains, after Dong Yuan,"* Leaf I in *To See Large within Small*, late 1620s. Ink and color on silk, 20 1/2 × 13 1/2 in. (52.2 × 34.2 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei



Fig. 54. Huang Gongwang (1269–1354). *Stone Cliff at the Pond of Heaven*, dated 1341. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 54 7/8 × 22 1/2 in. (139.4 × 57.3 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing



by moving the foreground bank with tall trees to the bottom right corner in order to open up the view and enhance the sense of spatial depth and openness. Furthermore, by introducing a strong zigzag movement to the flow of the stream, he imbued his composition with kinetic rhythms.

As both Roderick Whitfield and Wen Fong have observed, Wang Hui is experimenting in this work with how to integrate the openings-and-closings, risings-and-fallings of his pictorial “dragon-vein” structure in order to create a unified compositional movement that is charged with breath-force.⁴⁰ While the overall composition remains orderly and stable, Wang’s rhythmic brushwork and undulating landscape forms are constantly interacting to create pulsing arteries of graphic energy.⁴¹ His tightly structured composition of interlocking rocks and mountains also indicates a deep understanding of Dong Qichang’s style.

Landscape in the Style of Huang Gongwang seems to have been further modeled on another painting that was greatly admired by Wang Shimin and Wang Jian—Huang Gongwang’s *Summer Mountains, after Dong Yuan*, a reduced copy of which is included in the Taipei *To See Large within Small* album (fig. 53).⁴² Wang Jian was clearly influenced by this painting in the creation of his *Landscape in the Style of Huang Gongwang*:

the distant peaks along the left side of the composition, the foreground banks with tall trees, and the rounded monumental peaks are all based on *Summer Mountains, after Dong Yuan*. But Wang Jian transformed his model by moving the tall peaks to the background and counterbalancing them with clusters of rocks and hills on the right. Wang Hui further transformed Wang Jian’s composition through an integrated construction of interlocking landscape forms that generates veins of kinetic energy. Wang Hui’s inventiveness in transforming borrowed landscape elements into a unified composition is eloquently manifested here. As Whitfield has observed, Wang

Hui's painting copies neither Huang Gongwang's nor Wang Jian's; rather, it is a highly inventive work that shows off his own genius and virtuosity.⁴³

Wang Hui continued to draw inspiration from Huang Gongwang's style throughout the 1660s. Another of his reinterpretations is *Autumn Forests at Yushan*, dated 1668 (pls. 16, 17). Wang Hui made this painting for Gu Mei (1633–after 1671), one of the Ten Talents of Taicang (Taicang Shizi) and a close friend of Wang Shimin.⁴⁴ In his inscription, Wang Hui mentioned that when Gu Mei visited him at Yushan in the tenth lunar month of the *wushen* year [1668], he was deeply impressed by the autumnal beauty of the maple trees and asked Wang Hui to paint this work. In a recorded inscription no longer attached to the painting, Gu compliments Wang Hui for his innovative revival of Huang Gongwang's style: "Monumental peaks and mountains cast cold air onto the branches. Icy leaves colored in sweet red are appealing to the traveler. Surely you were Huang Gongwang in your previous life! I asked the lake bridge this question while returning home with a bottle of wine."⁴⁵

Autumn Forests at Yushan strongly recalls Huang Gongwang's *Stone Cliff at the Pond of Heaven*, dated 1341 (fig. 54).⁴⁶ Although the rock formations in *Autumn Forests* are not as tactile and massive as those in *Stone Cliff*, Wang's central mountain, built up of dynamically interconnected hills, boulders, plateaus, and trees, conveys a similar sense of structural organization. The clusters of trees in the foreground are tightly connected to the mountain masses in the background. The tiny human figure, crossing the bridge in the lower right corner, stands in marked contrast to the enormous mountain above. While adhering to Huang Gongwang's method of building simple, repeated shapes into a complex whole, Wang Hui has introduced a "dragon vein" into his composition, thereby imbuing it with serpentine, kinetic movement. This "life-carrying artery of the landscape composition," which begins in the lower left corner and moves slowly up to the summit like a winding snake, integrates the disparate landscape elements into an organic unity.⁴⁷ Wang Hui's use of ink and color also displays his artistic virtuosity. The rocks, hills, and trees are meticulously drawn and enriched with delicate tonal gradations such as the subtle red and orange used to describe the autumn foliage.



Pl. 16 (cat. 7). Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Autumn Forests at Yushan*, dated 1668. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 57 1/2 × 24 3/4 in. (146.2 × 61.7 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing

Wang Shimin's role in advancing Wang Hui's early career in the Jiangnan region cannot be overestimated. During the 1660s, however, Wang Hui became increasingly independent of Wang Shimin's influence and actively pursued his own career as a professional painter. By 1663 he had established his own studio, which he called the Studio of Western Fragrance (Xishuang Zhai). A landscape dated that year bears the artist's inscription stating that it was painted there (Beijing Antique and Curio Store), while a similar statement appears on *Blue Mountains and White Clouds*, a small fan painting dated 1669 (Palace Museum, Beijing).⁴⁸

A further sign of Wang Hui's independence is revealed in a letter by Wang Shimin, dated 1666, to one of his sons:

*On the seventeenth [day] of the sixth [lunar] month [of 1666], Hui came and stayed for fifty days. He began five long scrolls. Then a letter arrived from his home, and he made excuses to return to attend to grain taxes. Most of the scrolls remained unfinished. At first he promised to be back in two days, but twenty days passed without a word. While this gentleman's art is superb, he is too keen about money. I imagine that the gift I made him of only eight taels of silver was a great disappointment, so that he took his time coming back. Only after I wrote him many letters did he finally reappear—but I noticed that he was not pleased. He has now been here for more than ten days. Every day he toils among his brushes and inkstones, counting the days and keeping track of his time. He has firmly refused to lift his brush for any social occasion—would not make an exception even for a small fan painting. . . . Art dealers from all over, eager to have him make copies of ancient works, compete in their offers of handsome payments. As their invitations continue to pour in, I expect I shall not be able to keep him caged here for much longer!*⁴⁹

By 1666, then, new patrons had emerged who were rich enough to spend large amounts of money for Wang Hui's paintings, and he had become so successful that he could afford to keep Wang Shimin waiting. In a poem written for Wang Hui in the same year, a certain Xu Xu further confirmed that Wang had already established himself as one of the most celebrated painters in the south: "As soon as your small scroll was completed, many people vied with each other to buy it. They were fully prepared to spend ten thousand copper cash to acquire your work. Now we have too many collectors in Jiangnan."⁵⁰

Wang Shimin's complaints about Wang Hui's active pursuit of money reveal his indignation and jealousy

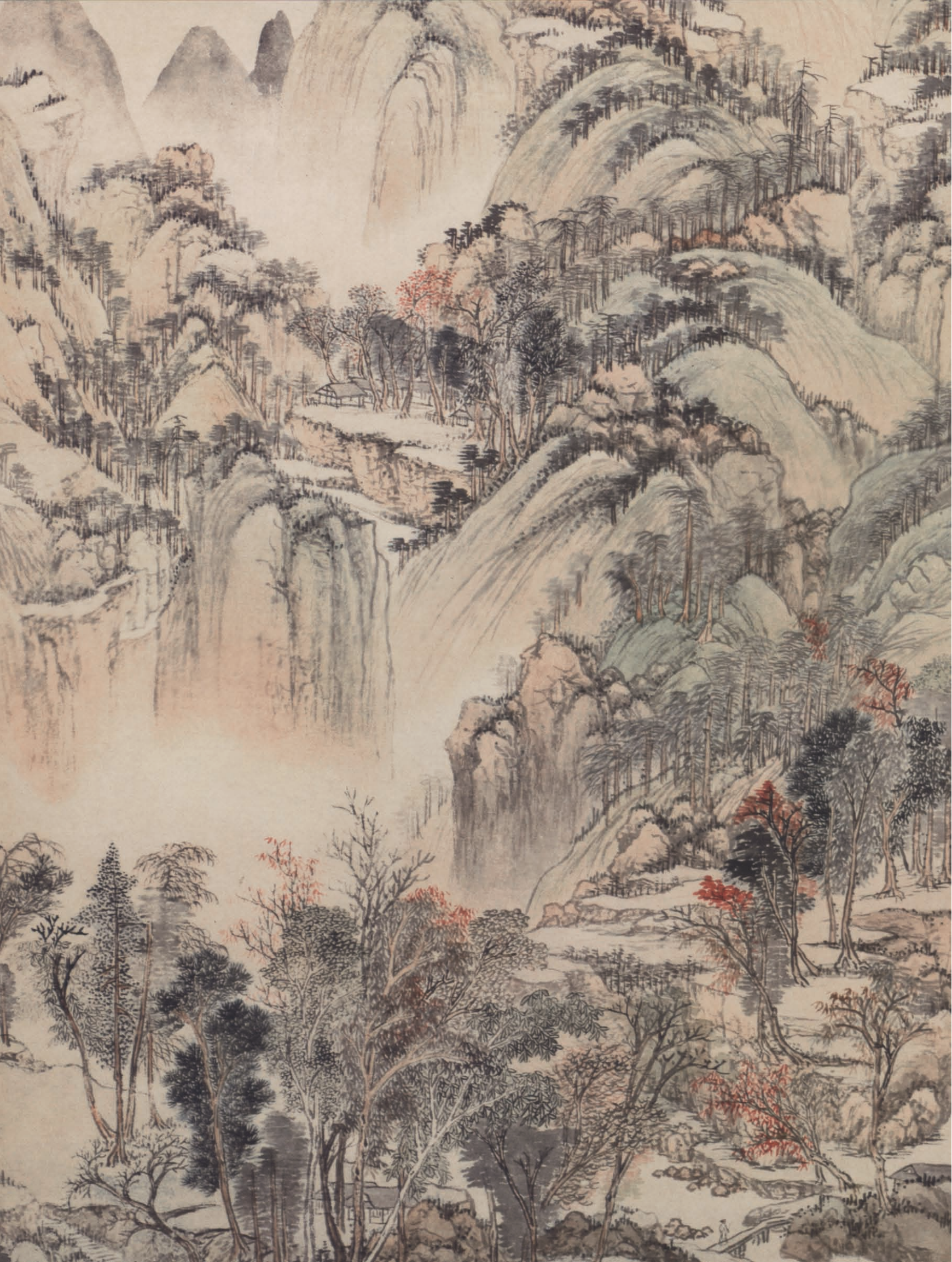
toward both the artist and his new patrons: "Recently I have heard that there are a number of people in Jinsha [Yixing] and Jingkou [Zhenjiang] who construct nice pavilions and invite Wang Hui so as to keep him as long as they wish."⁵¹ Clearly, the rise of new wealthy clients had begun to affect the master-disciple relationship between the two men. As Wang Hui's reputation grew, he became increasingly reluctant to part with his paintings at low prices, even for his teacher, preferring instead to travel to other towns to produce expensive paintings for wealthier patrons.

Wang Hui's emergence as a painter-entrepreneur is evident in Wang Shimin's observation that "he has firmly refused to lift his brush for any social occasion . . . even for a small fan painting." Indeed, Wang Hui rarely gave away paintings, even to his closest friends. For example, Yun Shouping, one of his best friends, found it extremely difficult to obtain a painting from him.⁵² It was Wang Hui's careful management of his reputation as a painter and its pecuniary rewards that enabled him to become independent of Wang Shimin.

Wang Shimin's waning influence over Wang Hui was directly related to the loss of most of his properties because of a drastic reform of the tax code. In 1661 the Qing government, led by Oboi (d. 1669) and three other regents, announced a new set of tax regulations intended to increase revenues by retracting the exemption privilege enjoyed by the southern elite.⁵³ The new edict mandated specific punishments for officials who failed to fulfill their tax quotas. As a result, privileged degree-holding landlords were forced to pay huge outstanding property taxes in order to avoid reprisals. The new edict mainly affected four major Jiangnan prefectures—Suzhou, Changzhou, Zhenjiang, and Songjiang—that were regarded as havens for numerous officials and degree holders thought to have assisted the troops led by Zheng Chenggong (1624–1662) in the anti-Manchu campaign of 1659. The tax edict of 1661 was thus politically motivated, aiming to dissolve local leadership and secure absolute obedience to Manchu rule in the south.⁵⁴

The taxes imposed on these four prefectures were several times the amount exacted from other areas. In addition to the loss of their property, many of the literati forfeited examination degrees, official ranks, and government posts under the accusation of tax evasion. Some were even arrested and beaten. The heavy taxes left few unaffected, including Wang Shimin. In a letter to one of his sons, Wang reveals his fear of bankruptcy as a result of the government's relentless collection campaign.⁵⁵ He writes that a tax

Pl. 17. Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Autumn Forests at Yushan*, dated 1668 (detail, pl. 16)



of forty or fifty thousand taels of silver had been imposed on the prefecture, that fifteen townsmen had already been beaten almost to death by large cudgels, and that more were due to be arrested for delinquent tax payment. In addition, he reports that an edict designed to collect twenty percent of everyone's income would soon be issued and an additional forty percent surcharge imposed. In despair, he continues:

*Our family has a lot of land, so it is only appropriate that we contribute something toward the needs of the community. I have asked around to gather support, but all of my brothers have gone bankrupt, and thus at present I have been unable to get any help. . . . There is no way for me to deal with taxes. I regret that I can only fold my arms and do nothing about the plight of the people. This grave situation is pushing me into a corner. The governor will certainly not allow me a grace period. How can I sustain myself? In many places, the tax collecting edicts are so strict and pressing that people have had only a few days before being forced to pay. I am afraid that I cannot avoid disaster. I am very worried.*⁵⁶

In an inscription on his painting for Fang Aixian (active second half seventeenth century), Wang Shimin again conveys his deep concern about taxes and the loss of his painting collection: "Ever since I was young and vigorous, I have been excessively fond of paintings, and in my family collection there were one or two of [Huang Gongwang's paintings]. . . . Since the years *wushen* and *jiyou* [1668–69] I have been beset by tax increases, and in my poverty I have not been able to hold onto my collection, which has been sold to other collectors."⁵⁷

Wang Shimin's financial crisis resulted in the loss of most of his collection by 1672. In his colophon of 1671 to Wang Hui's copy after Fan Kuan's *Travelers amid Streams and Mountains* (see fig. 33), he says that "only one- or two-tenths of what I once owned still remains."⁵⁸ Another of his colophons, to Wang Jian's *Album of Reduced Copies of Famous Song and Yuan Paintings*, states, "I have been assailed by illness, old age, poor harvests, and anxiety over taxes. As a result, there are no paintings left in my house."⁵⁹ Wang Shimin was in such despair that he described himself as "a blind man who, having lost his staff, wanders with nothing to rely upon."⁶⁰ Wang Hui's emergence as a celebrated independent painter occurred in the mid-1660s, precisely when Wang Shimin began to suffer from straitened financial circumstances. When Wang Shimin could no longer afford to compete with wealthier collectors for Wang Hui's paintings, his talented pupil turned his attention elsewhere.

TANG YUZHAO

The reclusive scholar and collector Tang Yuzhao (1602–1672), one of Wang Hui's most important patrons in the early 1660s, was extremely influential in advancing Wang's career as an independent artist and, in fact, continued to provide enthusiastic support for him until his death. Tang was also very close to Yun Shouping, a fellow native of Changzhou who was famous for his flower paintings and who made a number of works for Tang and his family members. Tang's son Tang Guang (Tang Yuguang, 1626–1690), himself a flower painter, became a lifelong friend to Yun and even collaborated with him.⁶¹ Like Yun, Tang excelled at the colorful style of painting flowers that was known as "boneless," that is, without ink outlines, and was particularly renowned for his lotus paintings, which Wang Shimin lauded in 1672 as "the most excellent in our land."⁶² *Red Lotuses*, a collaboration between Yun Shouping and Tang Guang, dated 1671 (Palace Museum, Beijing), was painted to celebrate Wang Hui's fortieth birthday. It bears inscriptions by Wang Shimin, Wang Jian, Yun Shouping, and the Zhenjiang collector Da Chongguang (Da Zhongguang, 1623–1692), all of whom were intimates of the Tang family.⁶³

Wang Hui had already established a close relationship with Tang Yuzhao by 1655, when he painted *Landscape after Wu Zhen's "Mountain Passes on a Clear Autumn Day"* for him (fig. 49). Tang later added an inscription on Wang Hui's *Landscape in the Style of Huang Gongwang*, dated 1661 (Berkeley Art Museum, University of California at Berkeley), in which he expressed admiration for the young painter's creative reinterpretations of the earlier master's style.⁶⁴ In 1662 Wang Hui visited Tang Yuzhao's Half Garden (Ban Yuan) at Changzhou and painted *Water Village, after Zhao Danian* (pls. 18, 19).⁶⁵ This beautiful blue-and-green landscape in the style of the Northern Song painter Zhao Lingrang (Zhao Danian, active ca. 1070–after 1100) was made for Wang's friend Zitang, the brother-in-law of Tang Yuzhao. The painting presents a level-distance view of low-lying hills and villages along a river. In recreating Zhao Lingrang's style, Wang has revived the ancient tripartite division of the picture space into discrete foreground, middle ground, and far-distance passages, each with a different ground plane. Thus, while the jumps in scale convey a sense of recession, the separately composed landscape elements work against spatial continuity.⁶⁶

An even more important source for this painting can be found in the works of Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), most notably *Autumn Colors on the Qiao and Hua*

Mountains, dated 1296 (see fig. 7), and *Water Village*, dated 1302 (fig. 55). Both paintings depict an expansive marshy landscape backed by low hills and dotted with willows, pines, houses, and fishermen. Yun Shouping's inscription on Wang Hui's painting after Zhao Mengfu's *Autumn Colors*, a leaf from an album dated 1686 (Suzhou Museum), mentions that Wang had made a replica of the Yuan masterwork before that time.⁶⁷ Furthermore, in 1662 the Nanjing collector Zhou Lianggong (1612–1672) had written a colophon to Wang Shimin's copy of Zhao Mengfu's *Autumn Colors*.⁶⁸ It would not be surprising if, when Wang Shimin copied the work, Wang Hui also did so and then painted this striking archaic landscape reflecting his stylistic indebtedness to Zhao Mengfu.

Wang Hui's *Landscapes after Ancient Masters*, an album dated 1662 (Palace Museum, Beijing), provides further evidence of his association with Tang Yuzhao.⁶⁹ Wang painted the album at the Half-Cloud Residence (Banyun Ju), the home of Yang Zhaolu (*jinsbi*, 1652), another Changzhou native and a close friend of Tang, who added colophons to the album. One leaf from the album, *Landscape after Huang Gongwang*, derives mainly from a leaf in the Taipei *To See Large within Small* album. According to Wang's inscription, the painting was modeled on a Huang Gongwang painting of Mount Hua that he saw at Wang Shimin's home in the winter of 1660. But other features of the painting—the round, distant mountains modeled with hemp-fiber strokes, the villages nestled in the valley or set along the riverbank, and the stable spatial arrangement—all appear to come from a now-lost version of Huang Gongwang's *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* (see figs. 4, 123) that was in Tang Yuzhao's collection. Wang Hui's study of this handscroll significantly enhanced his fame as a gifted copyist; indeed, he was the only painter given the privilege of copying it. During his career, Wang Hui created six or seven copies of this version of Huang Gongwang's *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*.⁷⁰

Wang made his first copy for Tang Yuzhao during the summer of 1662 while residing at Wang Shimin's Hall of Humble Refinements.⁷¹ Yet curiously, Wang Shimin never saw the original or the copy, as is clear from his colophon of 1673 to Wang Hui's second copy of the scroll, made for Da Chongguang and dated 1672 (figs. 56, 57):

I have seen more than twenty genuine paintings by Zijiu [Huang Gongwang]; there were two or four in the family

Pl. 18 (cat. 2). Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Water Village*, after Zhao Dajian, dated 1662. Hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper, 51 1/2 × 20 in. (130.8 × 50.7 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing





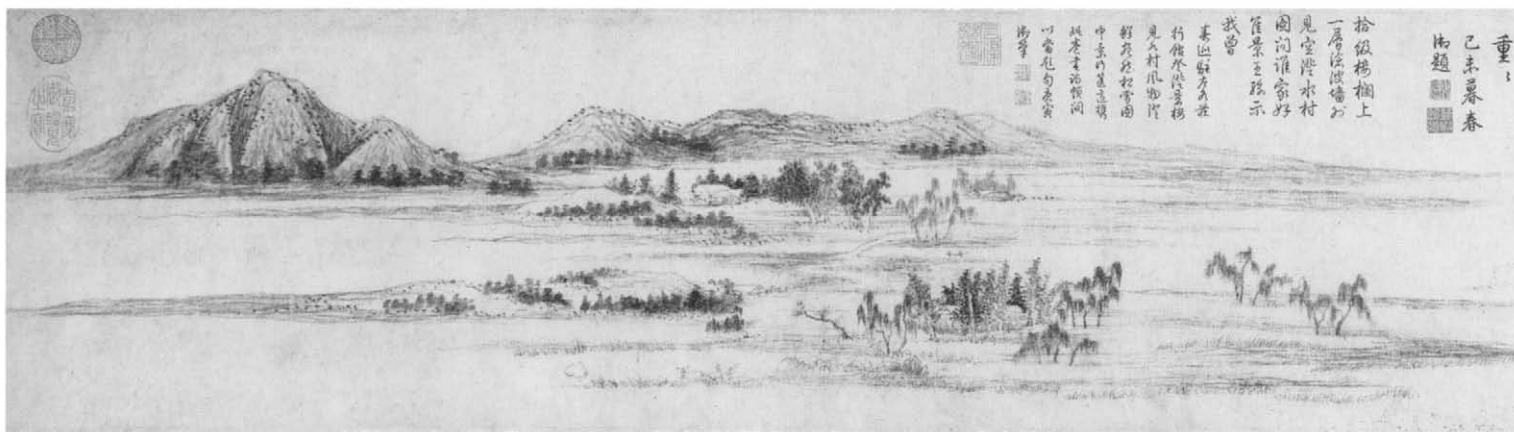


Fig. 55. Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322). *Water Village* (detail), dated 1302. Handscroll, ink on paper, 9 3/4 x 47 1/2 in. (24.9 x 120.5 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing



Fig. 56. Wang Hui (1632–1717). Copy after Huang Gongwang's *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* (detail), dated 1672. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 15 1/8 in. x 24 ft. 4 1/2 in. (38.4 x 743 cm). Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Purchase (F1950.19)

collection, but they are now all lost. I recall that Dong Wenmin [Dong Qichang] said, "Of all Huang's paintings, which added up to reams of paper, the Fuchun ranks first." It is a regret that I have never set eyes on it. Several years ago, I heard that Shigu [Wang Hui] had painted a picture [after the Fuchun] for Mr. Tang [Tang Yuzhao] of Jinling [Changzhou]. That picture I also did not see. . . . Although I admire the painting, I dare not ask for any favors. Shigu honors me by promising to paint one for me. Furthermore, he intends to ask the Provincial Censor [Da Chongguang] to write a colophon on it for me.⁷²

Wang Hui's reluctance to show Wang Shimin his copy of *Dwelling* for Tang Yuzhao in 1662 and his subsequent failure to make the promised copy for Wang Shimin demonstrate how Wang Hui's relationship with his mentor had already begun to change by the early 1660s.⁷³

At the same time, Wang Hui expanded his focus beyond the paintings of Huang Gongwang to encompass the works of another of the Four Masters of the late Yuan period, Wang Meng (1308–1385). This new interest was closely related to Wang's contact with

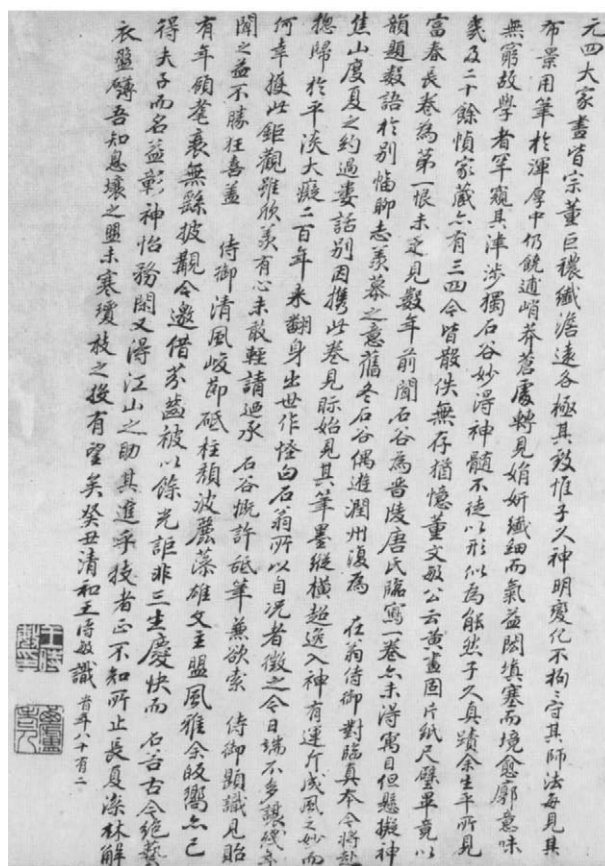


Fig. 57. Wang Shimin (1592–1680). Colophon, dated 1673, to fig. 56

Opposite: Pl. 19. Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Water Village*, after Zhao Danian, dated 1662 (detail, pl. 18)

Fig. 58. Wang Meng (1308–1385). *Dwelling in the Mountains on a Summer Day*, dated 1368. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 46 ½ × 14 ¼ in. (118.1 × 36.2 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing



Fig. 59. Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Myriad Valleys and Thousand Cliffs*, dated 1662. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 69 ¾ × 38 ¼ in. (177.5 × 98.4 cm). Capital Museum, Beijing

Tang Yuzhao. During his stay with Tang in 1662, Wang must have studied Wang Meng's *Dwelling in the Mountains on a Summer Day*, dated 1368 (fig. 58), then in Tang's collection, as evidenced by his *Myriad Valleys and Thousand Cliffs*, dated 1662 (fig. 59).⁷⁴ The pine trees in the foreground, the stream flowing from a distant mountain valley, and the mountains with slanted tops in the background all derive from *Dwelling in the Mountains on a Summer Day*.

Reading Next to the Window in the Mountains, dated 1666 (pl. 20), demonstrates Wang Hui's continued engagement with Wang Meng's style throughout the 1660s. Painted to celebrate the successful examination results attained by Wang Shimin's eighth son, Wang Shan (1645–1728), who later became one of the highest officials at the Kangxi court,⁷⁵ this monumental mountainscape, crowded with powerful, densely textured forms, shows Wang Hui's thorough understanding of Wang Meng's style. The compact spatial organization and dynamic



integration of landscape elements—notably, the tall foreground pines and massive central mountains—are indicative of Wang Hui's skillful reinterpretation of *Dwelling in the Mountains on a Summer Day*. Wang Hui successfully recaptures Wang Meng's characteristically restless brushwork, unstable mountain forms, and powerful compositional movements. His rich and vigorous brushwork, a mixture of hemp-fiber strokes and foliage dots, fills the landscape with kinetic energy.

Wang Hui's rapid rise to prominence in the late 1660s was largely due to his exceptional skill in reproducing ancient masterpieces. His replicas of Song and Yuan paintings were regarded as almost as precious as the originals. Indeed, Wang Shimin had become fascinated with Wang Hui because of his outstanding ability as a copyist:

When Wang Shigu [Wang Hui] arose he again introduced the great masters of the Tang, Song, and Yuan dynasties by imitating and copying them very closely. As soon as one opens a scroll of his, one is impressed by the strong and rich colouring, and whatever the design or the "short cuts" may be, they are quite in keeping with those of the old masters, and in his brushwork and spirit-resonance he is superior to them. Furthermore, when he imitates a master of old, he is entirely like this particular model and does not do it by introducing elements from various masters. If the picture is not signed, it cannot be distinguished from the original.⁷⁶

Zhou Lianggong also lauded Wang Hui for his ability to make exact copies of ancient masterworks: "Shigu's [Wang Hui's] copies after Song and Yuan masters are absolutely faithful to the originals. The people in Wu used to ask him to paint, and then they mounted his paintings in the fashion of old masters' works, so as to fool connoisseurs. Even those who were good at connoisseurship could not tell that these paintings were done by a contemporary artist."⁷⁷

Wang Hui's reputation as an exceptional copyist of Song and Yuan paintings spread so quickly that collectors in neighboring towns, most notably Tang Yuzhao, competed with one another to provide lodging for him.⁷⁸ He thus gained access to many of the most famous collections in the south, a privilege no other painter of his time enjoyed. Through such work, his knowledge of ancient styles was greatly enhanced, while his growing reputation as a copyist during the 1660s and 1670s brought him both fame and wealth.⁷⁹ The asking price for Wang Hui's finest copy of a famous Song painting was sixteen to twenty-five times as high as that for one of his other landscape paintings.⁸⁰ Because of the extraordinary

Pl. 20 (cat. 5). Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Reading Next to the Window in the Mountains*, dated 1666. Hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper, 63 × 16½ in. (160 × 42 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing

monetary value of his copies, Wang continued to make exact replicas, freehand copies, and imitations of Song and Yuan paintings throughout his career.

ZHOU LIANGGONG

By the late 1660s, having successfully built his reputation as the preeminent copyist of ancient paintings, Wang Hui began to seek patrons beyond his native region. The most famous of these was Zhou Lianggong of Nanjing.⁸¹ Zhou's greatest accomplishment is his *Lives of Painters* (*Dubua lu*, ca. 1673), a firsthand account of seventy-seven contemporary artists who contributed to his collection and one of the most authoritative primary sources concerning painters born or active in Nanjing during the tumultuous years of the Ming-Qing transition.⁸²

No other artist in the *Lives of Painters* is more celebrated than Wang Hui,⁸³ whom Zhou Lianggong regarded as the most distinguished painter in the south. Zhou's fame as a collector and chronicler made him an important person for Wang Hui to cultivate as he sought to expand his career and establish his independence from Wang Shimin and Wang Jian. Sometime between 1661 and 1664, therefore, Wang Hui asked the noted scholar Qian Qianyi to write a letter of introduction to Zhou, to which Wang added one of his paintings. At the time, Zhou was serving in an official post in Qingzhen, Shandong Province, so Wang did not actually meet with him until long after Zhou's return to Nanjing in 1666. The amateur-painter and Nanjing native Ni Can (1627–1688), writing in about 1685, recalled the friendship between Zhou Lianggong and Wang Hui:

*I have been a friend of Shigu [Wang Hui] for thirty years. In the past, when Master Zhou Liyuan [Zhou Lianggong] was in Nanzhong [Nanjing], Wang Shigu frequently visited and stayed with him day and night. I have deeply admired Wang Shigu's sincerity, loftiness, and solitary disposition. His attitude is open, easy, and generous. If people merely see him through his painting, their knowledge of him is only skin-deep. Wang Shigu always thinks most highly of the value of friendship so that he would not change his mind easily because of such worldly matters as life, death, success, and poverty.*⁸⁴

While Ni Can's account may be exaggerated, another contemporary report, by Wang Pian (active second half seventeenth century), notes that Zhou did send several letters to Wang inviting him to come visit. But the two men apparently did not meet until 1669,⁸⁵ a conclusion supported by two pieces of evidence. In his inscription on *Ten Thousand Miles of the Yangzi River*, dated 1699 (Wan-go H. C. Weng

Collection, Lyme, New Hampshire), Wang Hui recalled that it was approximately thirty years earlier that he had lodged at Zhou Lianggong's residence, where he saw *Landscape of the Yangzi River* by Yan Wengui (active ca. 970–1030).⁸⁶ Zhou's own account is further confirmation: "In the *jiyou* year [1669], when I had returned from my official post, he [Wang Hui] came to visit me in Nanjing. He lived in the Xudeng temple and painted sixteen pictures for me. In my old age and amidst all my troubles I found great pleasure in these paintings."⁸⁷

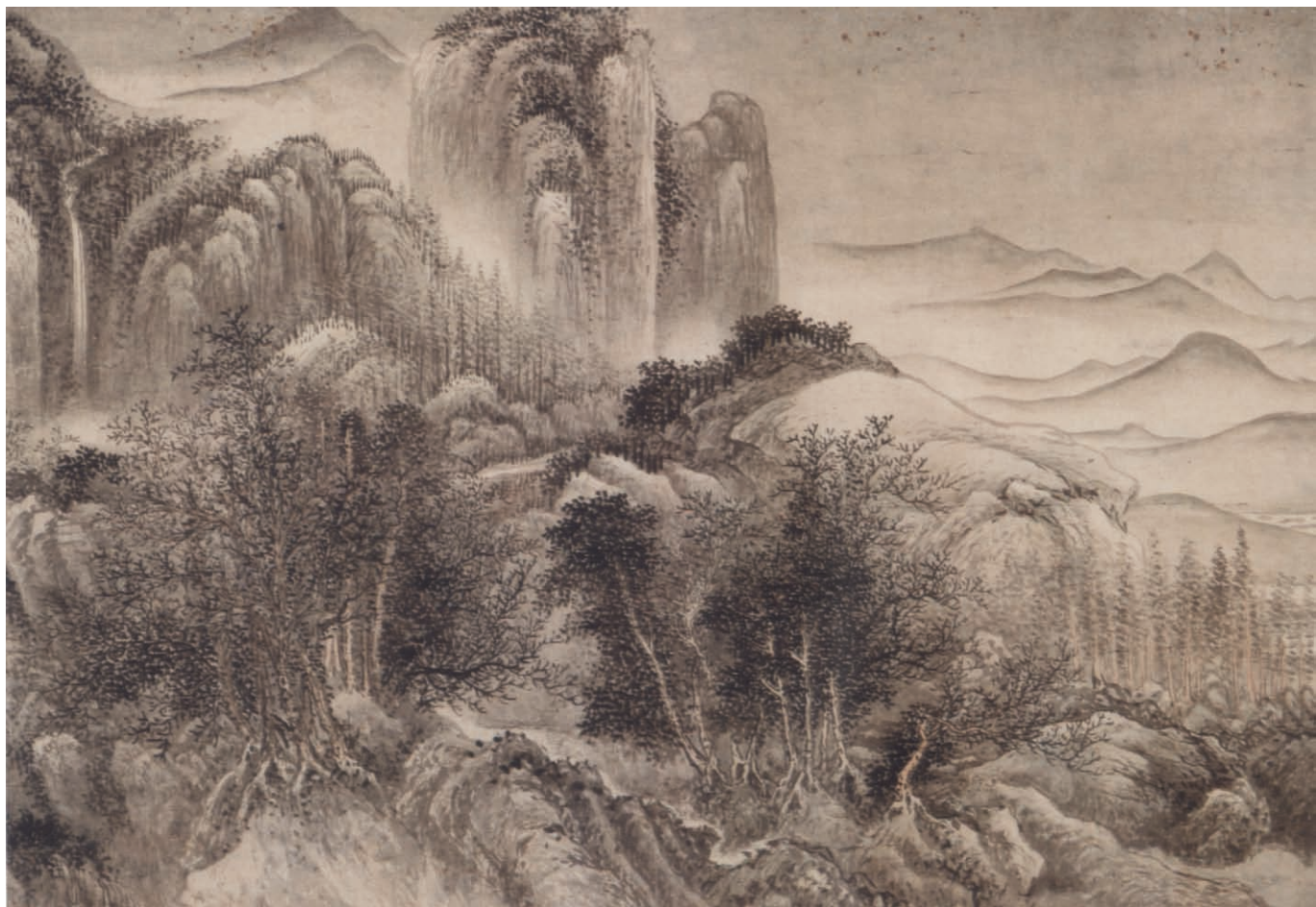
After their initial meeting, Wang Hui and Zhou Lianggong remained close. Zhou wrote a poem to celebrate Wang's fortieth birthday in 1671 as well as a letter asking him to paint a promised work that had long been delayed.⁸⁸ Wang's album of sixteen paintings for Zhou has not survived. The most concrete monument to their early relationship is *Summer Mountains, Misty Rain*, dated 1668, a handscroll with a long colophon by Wang Shimin, which Wang presented to Zhou on his 1669 visit to Nanjing (pls. 21, 22A,B).⁸⁹ Around the same time, Wang also contributed a painting entitled *Mountains after Snowfall in the Style of Li Cheng* to a collaborative album for Zhou. On the facing page is a colophon dated 1670 by Wang Shizhen (1634–1711) that expresses support for Zhou after his having been wrongly accused of mishandling government funds in the eighth lunar month of 1669.⁹⁰ When Wang Hui came to Nanjing with *Summer Mountains, Misty Rain*, the corruption case had just begun.⁹¹

Summer Mountains, Misty Rain, Wang Hui's earliest extant handscroll, is also one of his most ambitious works of the 1660s, combining past styles and classical themes in an impressive landscape panorama. The painting opens with a view of broad lowlands receding to layered distant mountains silhouetted against a gloomy sky. Imposing middle-ground peaks built up of multitiered trees and clusters of boulders suddenly interrupt this spacious view. Thick layers of cloud emerge from behind these peaks. The natural drama of towering mountains and dense mist ends abruptly with a large marshy expanse where two fishing boats ply the still water and two woodcutters return to a village nestled behind tall trees. Beyond the stream, distant mountains recede into the dark, shimmering sky. The scroll concludes with a foreground view of tall trees and large rocks that counterbalance the preceding turbulent landscape. With its rich and vigorous brushwork and color carefully applied to enhance the pensive mood, the painting represents a superb integration of Wang Hui's mind, hand, and eye.

Pl. 21. Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Summer Mountains, Misty Rain*, dated 1668 (detail, pl. 22)



Pl. 22A (cat. 6). Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Summer Mountains, Misty Rain*, dated 1668. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 16 ½ × 97 in. (41.8 × 246.4 cm). Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, Gift of the Tang Foundation, presented by Leslie, Martin, and Nadine Tang in celebration of Jack C. C. Tang's sixtieth birthday (B87D8)



Summer Mountains, Misty Rain is also a remarkable synthesis of various earlier pictorial sources. Its opening level-distance view set off by large foreground rocks derives from the works of Li Cheng (919–967) and Guo Xi (ca. 1000–ca. 1090).⁹² The use of bold outlines and layered ink washes also recalls Guo Xi's landscape style. Other references to Li Cheng include the birds in flight over the trees and the dark sky in the beginning section, motifs that also appear in *Wintry Grove on Ancient Banks*, after Li Cheng, a leaf from the album that Wang Hui painted in 1674 for Wang Shimin (see Catalogue, no. 15).⁹³ The masterful interplay of an expansive level distance and high mountains also recalls two of the earliest extant works in the Yan Wengui tradition of "mountains and rivers without end": *Pavilions and Mansions by Rivers and Mountains*, attributed to Yan Wengui (fig. 60), and *Summer Mountains*, attributed to Yan's follower Qu Ding (active ca. 1023–ca. 1056) (see fig. 75).⁹⁴

The clouds hovering in the deep mountain valley of Wang Hui's work are also found in his *White Clouds and Green Mountains*, a fan in the style of the Yuan painter Gao Kegong (1248–1310), also painted in 1668.⁹⁵ The watery lowland passage in the last section recalls Zhao Mengfu's *Autumn Colors on the Qiao and Hua Mountains* (see fig. 7), which then belonged to

Zhang Yingjia (active second half seventeenth century).⁹⁶ Zhou Lianggong's admiration for that painting is evidenced by his 1662 colophon to Wang Shimin's copy of *Autumn Colors*.⁹⁷ The fishermen in their skiffs, the marshy land dotted with clusters of grass and shrubs, the parallel rows of distant trees, the half-hidden water village, and the prominent use of hemp-fiber strokes all echo elements in *Autumn Colors*.

The most important pictorial source for *Summer Mountains, Misty Rain* is, however, a hanging scroll of the same title by Wu Zhen (1280–1354). While the location of this painting is currently unknown, a fine copy by the early Ming painter Liu Jue (1410–1472) probably preserves its fundamental features (fig. 61).⁹⁸ Liu Jue's monumental landscape features an imposing central mountain flanked on the right by clouds and a cascade and on the left by a village. A simplified copy of this composition, entitled *Autumn Clearing in the Mountain Pass*, is included in the Taipei *To See Large within Small* album.⁹⁹ Wang Hui knew Wu Zhen's painting very well. He copied it in 1655 for Tang Yuzhao¹⁰⁰ and included another copy in his *To See Large within Small* album, dated 1672 (Shanghai Museum). The poet Huang Yujian also wrote Wang Hui a letter expressing his eagerness to possess a copy.¹⁰¹



Fig. 60. Attributed to Yan Wengui (active ca. 970–1030). *Pavilions and Mansions by Rivers and Mountains* (detail). Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 10 ¼ × 53 ½ in. (26 × 135 cm). Osaka Municipal Museum of Art

Wang Hui's version for Zhou Lianggong skillfully adapted the major pictorial elements of Wu Zhen's hanging scroll into the handscroll format: the high peaks and wafting clouds are placed in the middle of the scroll, without sacrificing their monumentality and centrality, and the dense foreground trees and shrubbery animate the surface of the mountains. At the same time, the laterally arrayed landmasses and parallel rows of trees convey a strong sense of horizontality, and the thick layers of clouds, moving slowly to the left, carry the viewer's eye to the distant peaks at the end of the scroll. The transition from scene to scene is smooth and gradual, as the scroll

successfully melds landscape elements into a continuous horizontal sequence.

Summer Mountains, Misty Rain presents an almost magical composite of earlier styles and compositions, demonstrating Wang Hui's masterful virtuosity in synthesizing Song pictorial elements with Yuan calligraphic brushwork. In addition, it marks the beginning of his experiments with the pictorial potential of the handscroll format for creating vast panoramic landscapes. The painting thus represents a significant turning point in Wang Hui's development, foreshadowing the direction his landscape art would take in later years. *Summer Mountains, Misty Rain* has



further significance in that it reflects Wang Hui's determination not only to establish himself as a skillful copyist but also to pursue the loftier goal of inventing a new type of landscape, one enriched by thematic allusions and complex human emotions. In fact, this particular work, with its bleak and chilly atmosphere, may allude to Zhou Lianggong's emotionally turbulent life, which was racked by a series of precarious political setbacks. The flock of birds flying into the dark sky reinforces this association and serves to clarify the thematic allusions of the scroll.

Wang Hui's early paintings for Zhou Lianggong were all winterscapes.¹⁰² Two months after he had presented *Summer Mountains, Misty Rain* to Zhou in the eighth lunar month of 1669, Wang made *Snow Clearing, after Li Cheng* (see pl. 4). Although Wang did not name the recipient of this work, that it was painted for Zhou Lianggong is supported by a letter from Zhou to Wang, thought to have been written in the winter of 1669, in which Zhou apologizes for not having paid Wang properly for a commissioned painting. Zhou also mentions that he had been dismissed from office and was facing an impending trial.¹⁰³ It was precisely at this time, as Wang Hui returned to Nanjing after a brief visit to Changzhou, that Zhou was accused of mishandling

government funds (a capital offense) and was relieved of his official post. During the same period, as noted earlier, the artist also contributed to a collective album for Zhou; his painting, entitled *Mountains after Snowfall, in the Style of Li Cheng*, faced a page inscribed by Wang Shizhen with a sympathetic message regarding Zhou's situation.¹⁰⁴

Wang's decision to paint two winterscapes in the style of Li Cheng for Zhou was clearly significant, for those works by the older master had long been considered emblems of survival in the face of adversity.¹⁰⁵ Wang probably meant the paintings to express his sympathy for Zhou's plight and to encourage him during his ordeal. The bleak spirit of these winter landscapes, which mirrored so well Zhou's perilous circumstances, must have been particularly resonant for Zhou. In a letter to Wang Hui, Zhou referred to the shocks and cold sweats that he had experienced during the succession of accusations and trials.¹⁰⁶ Already having endured years of banishment and imprisonment over charges between 1654 and 1661, Zhou was once again plunged into a chilling situation by these new accusations. In addition to depicting the cold atmosphere of winter, Wang Hui's landscapes after Li Cheng were thus intended to evoke a deeper layer of human emotion.



In many respects, *Summer Mountains, Misty Rain* may also be seen as an intensely personal narrative of Zhou Lianggong's life. Its opening section, with the threatening sky, gray water, and flight of birds, recalls the first bleak period of political turmoil, which culminated in 1661 with Zhou's sudden pardon. The tall peaks that rise from the middle section offer a powerful counterpoint to these somber images. Evoking centrality, power, and order, the high mountains may be read as emblems of Zhou's moral authority and integrity, while the towering evergreens symbolize his upright character as a virtuous man. The last section, depicting a land of peaceful retreat free from political turmoil, foreshadows Zhou's retirement. The presence of the two fishermen and returning woodcutters highlights the pleasure of shunning the official world, in which Zhou had been so much involved. The wafting, heavy clouds end with the opening-up of an expansive space where tranquillity prevails.

In 1669, shortly after Wang Hui met Zhou Lianggong, Zhou was to face another round of accusations. But in *Summer Mountains, Misty Rain*, Wang Hui seems to be urging Zhou to embrace a new life in retirement. Yet the ultimate significance of Wang's imagery remains ambiguous. The scroll is neither a copy after

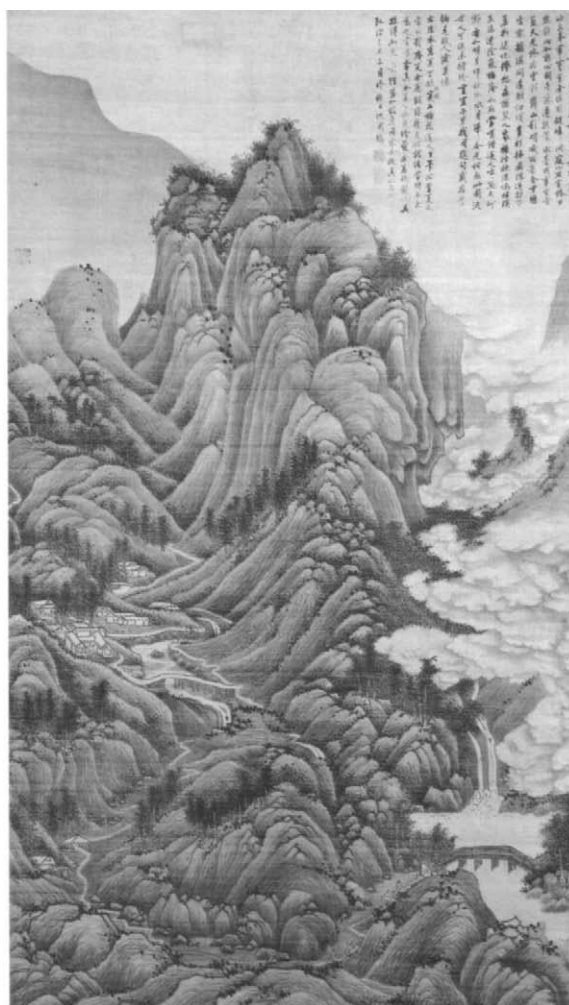


Fig. 61. Liu Jue (1410–1472). Copy of Wu Zhen's *Summer Mountains, Misty Rain*. Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 65 ¼ × 37 ¾ in. (165.7 × 95 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing

an earlier painting nor a typical landscape of summer mountains on a rainy day. Its strange bleakness and elegiac mood, unusual in a summer scene, give it an enigmatic character that defies easy interpretation. What is certain is that Wang Hui had created a highly original work that is charged with meaning, both art-historical and personal.

COPYING THE OLD MASTERS

As Wang Hui's fame spread, a widening circle of prominent collectors in the south competed with one another to obtain his services.¹⁰⁷ Through these contacts, Wang Hui made replicas of a large number of Song and Yuan paintings, enriching his knowledge of such works while establishing himself as the most renowned copyist of his day.¹⁰⁸ One of his major patrons from the late 1680s onward was Song Luo (Song Lao, 1634–1713), who asked the artist in 1698 to make a copy of *Snowy Mountains* by Fan Kuan (ca. 960–ca. 1030; pl. 23).¹⁰⁹ Song had inherited the work from his father, the high official Song Quan (1598–1652), who had received it as a token of imperial favor from the Shunzhi emperor (r. 1644–61) for his contributions to the Manchu conquest of China. Wang Hui's replica vividly suggests the monumental grandeur and chilling beauty of the original.¹¹⁰

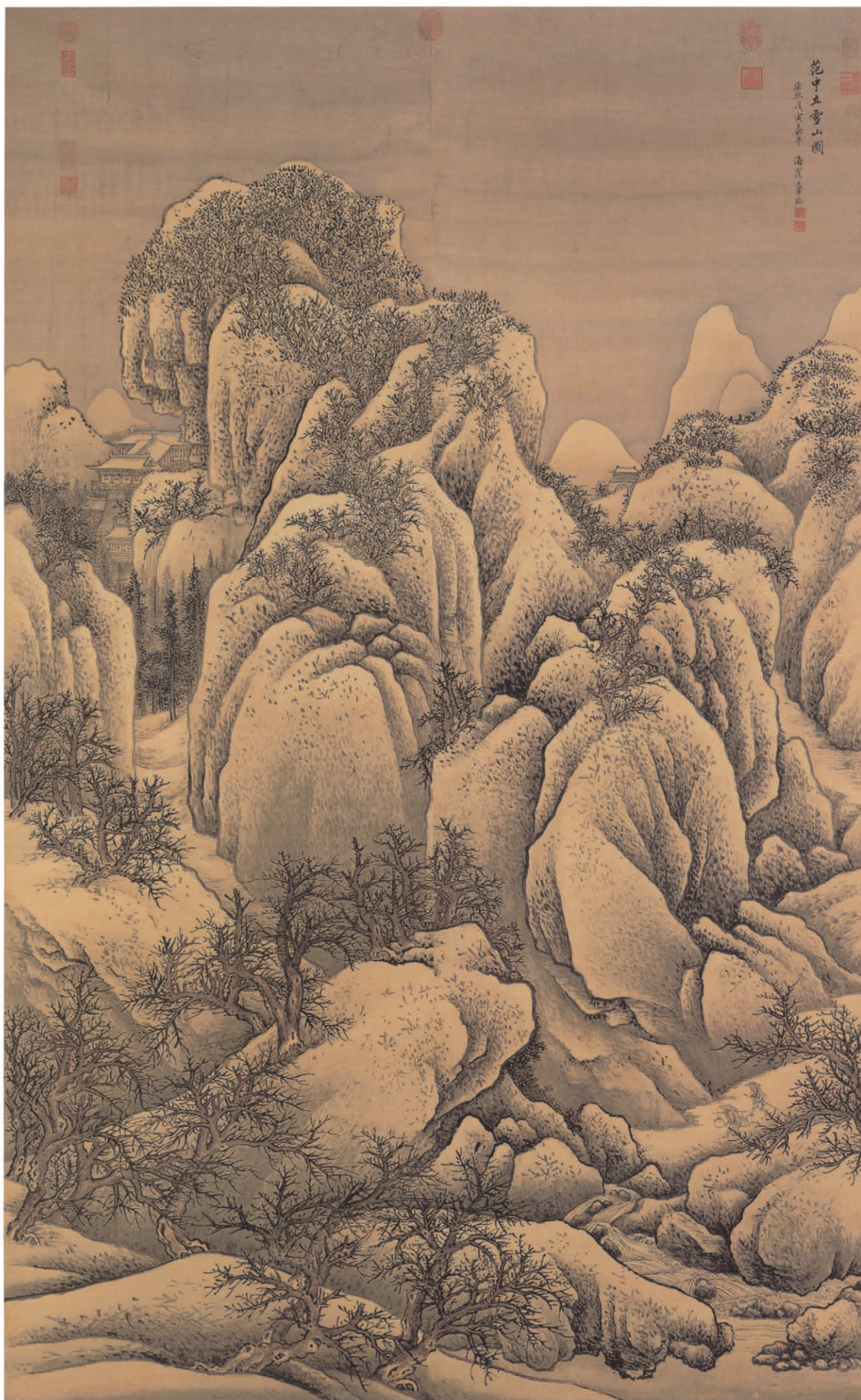
Dense Snow on the Mountain Pass (pl. 24), formerly attributed to Xu Daoning (ca. 970–ca. 1052), is probably one of Wang Hui's copies that, in the words of Zhou Lianggong, was “mounted . . . in the fashion of old masters' works, so as to fool connoisseurs.”¹¹¹ It is likely that Suzhou dealers of the time added false signatures and seals to Wang Hui's paintings and sold them at high prices.¹¹² The painting bears a signature, “Xu Daoning's study of Li Xianxi's [Li Cheng's] *Dense Snow on the Mountain Pass*,” as well as spurious seals of the Song emperor Huizong (r. 1101–25), Jin emperor Zhangzong (r. 1189–1208), Shen Zhou (1427–1509), and Hua Xia (ca. 1465–1566). Bian Yongyu (1645–1712), Wang Hui's younger contemporary and a noted collector, acquired *Dense Snow on the Mountain Pass* and recorded it as the work of Xu Daoning in his *Compilation of Writings on Calligraphy and Painting from the Shigu Hall* (*Shigu Tang shubua huikao*).¹¹³

Typical of Wang Hui is the way in which the layered banks and deeply creviced, shaded boulders are set against a vista of receding rivers and distant mountains to emphasize the mountains' mass. White pigment applied to the surfaces of the branches, foliage, and rocks powerfully conveys the physical

appearance of a recent snowfall. But most characteristic of Wang Hui are the convoluted rock forms and twisting trees that undulate and pulse with graphic energy, creating a “dragon vein” of continuous compositional movement. Although *Dense Snow on the Mountain Pass* has been labeled a Wang Hui forgery,¹¹⁴ it is equally possible that the painting was a legitimate evocation of a landscape in the style of Li Cheng, which was later given a false attribution.¹¹⁵

Wang Hui's brilliance in copying ancient masterworks is once again demonstrated in *Landscape after Wu Zhen's “Mountain Passes on a Clear Autumn Day,”* dated 1686, now in the Palace Museum, Beijing (pls. 13, 25). This meticulous copy of a now-lost Wu Zhen original was once in the collection of Wang Shimin. As noted earlier, in 1655 Wang Hui made a copy of the same painting for Tang Yuzhao,¹¹⁶ the current location of which is also unknown. The Palace Museum version is an imposing landscape in which tall, layered peaks with rounded earthen foothills, alum-head boulders, and numerous trees and bushes are placed in a vast panorama of mountains and rivers. Painted some thirty years after he created his first copy, this painting shows that, even in his later years, Wang never lost his technical facility and unfailing confidence in copying ancient paintings.

Wang Hui's unrivaled ability in accurately replicating his models is further highlighted by his *To See Large within Small* album, dated 1672, now in the Shanghai Museum (see figs. 27, 28). Nineteen paintings in this twenty-one-leaf album are stylistically identical with those in the Taipei *To See Large within Small* album.¹¹⁷ Throughout his career, Wang Hui's *To See Large within Small* album served as a sourcebook for his replicas of ancient paintings. An excellent example is provided by the hanging scroll entitled *Landscape after Wang Meng's “Travelers amid Autumn Mountains,”* which is based on the leaf of the same title in the album but which converts the painting back into its original format (pl. 26). The composition is otherwise identical to that of the Shanghai album leaf (fig. 62). In terms of brushwork, however, the loosely applied hemp-fiber texture strokes, the repetitive ink dots, and the mechanically executed tree forms of the scroll lack the energy and creative variation of Wang's early period, suggesting that this is a later work, probably painted after 1700. Despite the absence of dramatic brushwork, *Landscape after Wang Meng's “Travelers amid Autumn Mountains”* reveals not only that Wang Hui continued to create replicas of ancient masterworks, but that the Shanghai album proved to be an enduring source for him. It also offers an insight into the



Pl. 23 (cat. 25). Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Land-
scape after Fan Kuan's*
"Snowy Mountains,"
dated 1698. Hanging
scroll, ink and light
color on silk, 73 $\frac{7}{8}$ $\times$
45 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (187.7 $\times$
115.5 cm). National
Palace Museum, Taipei



Opposite: Pl. 24 (cat. 26). Wang Hui (1632–1717), formerly attributed to Xu Daoning (ca. 970–ca. 1052). *Dense Snow on the Mountain Pass*. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 47 ¾ × 32 in. (121.3 × 81.3 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei



Pl. 25 (cat. 20). Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Landscape after Wu Zhen's "Mountain Passes on a Clear Autumn Day,"* dated 1686. Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 85 × 44 ¾ in. (215.9 × 113.8 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing

Pl. 26 (cat. 27). Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Landscape after Wang Meng's "Travelers amid Autumn Mountains."* Hanging scroll, ink on silk, $23\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ in. (58.7 × 26.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Lent by the P. Y. and Kinmay W. Tang Family Collection (L.2007.13)



aging yet hardworking painter, seeking to reconnect with his early years and recapture the spirit and energy embodied in the Shanghai album leaf. The painter has grown older, yet his passion for returning to the past remains almost unchanged.

In the late 1660s and early 1670s, Wang Hui's close copies of ancient masterworks were crucial in building his career and earning him material wealth. According to a later account, his clients were high officials and rich collectors who treasured his paintings for being as precious as pearls.¹¹⁸ Although the evidence concerning the prices paid for Wang's paintings is only scattered and indirect, it suggests that he was the best-paid painter of his day.¹¹⁹ His ordinary landscapes, painted quickly to respond to commissions, sometimes cost as little as four taels of silver.¹²⁰ His faithful copies of antique paintings were, however, almost always priced at the highest level. His replica of Juran's *Mist Floating on a Distant Peak*, for example, cost 200 taels of silver, while such works by his contemporaries usually sold for fewer than six taels.¹²¹ A list left by the important collector Gao Shiqi (1645–1704) of prices for the paintings he had collected by 1704 includes useful information on the cost of paintings, both ancient and contemporary, during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The highest-priced works in Gao Shiqi's collection were *The Xiao and Xiang Rivers* and *The Shu River* by Li Gonglin (ca. 1041–1106), a set of two handscrolls mounted together that cost 400 taels.¹²² Wang Hui's replica of Juran's *Mist Floating on a Distant Peak* was thus equivalent in price to one of Li Gonglin's scrolls and had fetched an even higher price than *Delight in Cloudy Mountains*, attributed to Mi Youren (1074–1151), which was purchased for 160 taels.¹²³

While Wang Hui's replica no longer survives, another work, entitled *Mist Floating on a Distant Peak, in Imitation of Juran* and dated 1672 (pl. 27; see also pl. 6), with copied inscriptions by Wang Shimin, Wang Jian, and Wang Hui, gives some idea of the original's appearance.¹²⁴ The lack of momentum and structural force in the composition, the inconsistent hemp-fiber strokes, the repetitive ink dots, and the two-dimensional rocks and mountains all indicate that this painting may not be from the hand of the master. But the copy of Wang Hui's inscription reveals that in 1672 he used Juran's *Mist Floating on a Distant Peak*, then in the collection of Changzhou painter and collector Zhuang Jiongsheng (1627–1679), to make a copy for Da Chongguang. The Princeton painting thus enables us to identify Da Chongguang as the purchaser of one of the highest-priced paintings of the early 1670s. This work and an



Fig. 62. Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Landscape after Wang Meng's "Travelers amid Autumn Mountains,"* from *To See Large within Small*, dated 1672. Leaf B in an album of twenty-one paintings with two leaves of calligraphy, ink or ink and color on paper or silk, average 21 7/8 × 13 3/8 in. (55.5 × 34.5 cm). Shanghai Museum

almost identical one in the collection of the Fuji Yurinkan, Kyoto (fig. 63), also considered a replica of Wang Hui's original, demonstrate that the artist's replicas were so popular that they themselves were soon also copied.

Wang Hui's renown as a copyist was due in part to a renewal of antiquarianism at the time. During the Ming-Qing transition, Song and Yuan paintings in the imperial collection were dispersed among private collections and frequently changed ownership. Since very few people could gain access to these ancient masterpieces, either at the collector's residences or on the market, replicas were one

Left: Pl. 27 (cat. 13). Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Mist Floating on a Distant Peak*, in *Imitation of Juran*, dated 1672. Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 76 × 28 1/8 in. (193 × 71.5 cm). Princeton University Art Museum, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse (y1973-9)

Right: Fig. 63. Unidentified artist (17th century or later). Copy after Wang Hui's *Landscape after Juran's "Mist Floating on a Distant Peak"*. Hanging scroll, ink on silk, dimensions unknown. Fuji Yurinkan, Kyoto

way to meet the growing demand for such paintings.¹²⁵ Wang Hui's success as a copyist was further facilitated by the contemporary notion that perfect replicas could be as marvelous as the originals.

Wang Hui actually made a very limited number of careful replicas. Although he painted six or seven copies of Huang Gongwang's *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* during his lifetime (see, for example, fig. 56), he was reluctant to accept requests for any more.¹²⁶ Indeed, although Wang Hui promised to make one for Wang Shimin, he never did, probably because Wang Shimin could not have afforded the price. Although the cost of Wang Hui's replicas of the Huang Gongwang is unknown, it would presumably have been close to the 200 taels of silver paid for his copy of Juran's *Mist Floating on a Distant Peak*.¹²⁷ By the mid-1670s, Wang Hui had made copies of *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* only for Tang Yuzhao, Da Chongguang, and Pan Yuanbo (active 1660–770),¹²⁸ all wealthy and influential individuals in their native towns of Changzhou, Zhenjiang, and Yixing, respectively.

Wang Hui exercised careful control over the volume of his artistic production as a way of asserting the value of his work and enhancing his reputation. Shen Shouhong (1645–1722), a famous Taicang poet, offered an interesting account in this regard: “A small hanging scroll from Shigu [Wang Hui] costs 14 bolts of regular silk. The price of a large hanging scroll is 100 bolts of the finest silk. His paintings now dominate the world. Shigu never lifts his brush until he receives a handsome offer. I have tried to acquire a painting from him for many years, but to no avail. So my thatched hut is dark and empty, with no *yunyan* [“clouds and mists,” i.e., paintings].”¹²⁹ Wang Hui is confirmed here as an artist-entrepreneur who painted only for high commissions.

Sometimes Wang Hui intentionally delayed the completion of requested work in order to increase the value of his artistic labor. Expressions such as “ten days to draw a river, five days to draw a rock” or “ten days to paint a rock, five days to paint a stone” are often found in clients' remarks concerning the way Wang worked on their requested paintings.¹³⁰ Such phrases, derived from lines that the Tang poet Du Fu (712–770) playfully wrote on a landscape painting by his contemporary Wang Zai, suggest that an excellent artist should not rush the creation of a painting but should instead take the utmost care with its execution.¹³¹ Wang Hui clearly sought to represent himself as an innovative and learned artist rather than a professional painter and to establish that his exceptional talent deserved a commensurate level of recognition and compensation.

According to Wang Shimin, Wang Hui was like “a solitary pine, lofty and prominent, that did not mingle with ordinary trees.”¹³² He was not willing to accept commissions for routine paintings and often turned down casual requests for his work in order to fashion himself as an inaccessible artist whose works were available only to a very few special clients. He took full advantage of his reputation in negotiating prices. When he accepted a commission, he insisted on working at his own pace. This strategy was obviously successful. Wang Shimin observed that Wang Hui's reputation increased more than a hundredfold after he developed this method of working.¹³³

Wang Hui's self-promotional strategies were also referred to by Dai Liucong (active ca. second half seventeenth century) in a 1671 poem commemorating the artist's fortieth birthday: “Mr. Wang's reputation has been spoken of from his early years. He always paints a rock in ten days and a [body of] water in five days. He is smart enough to make excuses to avoid the pressing requests for his paintings and is proud of completing commissioned works five times as late as their promised dates.”¹³⁴ A certain Yuan Qixu (active ca. second half seventeenth century) wrote, “Lovers of Wang Hui's landscapes did not regret spending one thousand taels of silver for one of his paintings, which they thought surpassed in quality those by Jing Hao and Guan Tong and were equal to those by Dong Yuan and Juran.”¹³⁵ Yuan's hyperbolic account reinforces the image of Wang Hui as one of the most celebrated painters of his time.

Given the great demand for his work, some of Wang Hui's clients may have worried that he employed assistants to help complete his commissions.¹³⁶ Evidence for the widespread use of apprentices among professional painters is found in a letter from Zhang Yingjia to Wang Hui in which Zhang insists that his commission—an album of sixteen paintings after Song and Yuan masters and a copy of Huang Gongwang's *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*—must be accomplished by the painter himself.¹³⁷ There is no evidence, however, that Wang Hui employed assistants early in his career. This may have changed during the 1680s, when the scale of his commissions grew significantly. And it is certain that in the 1690s, when Wang was working on the *Southern Inspection Tour* commission, he enlisted a number of assistants to help complete this monumental work. This practice was clearly common knowledge, as indicated by a letter to Wang from Song Zhi (1656–1726), the son of Song



Luo, that mandated that his commission, a large multipanel screen, must be done not by “ghost painters” but by the artist himself.¹³⁸

Wang Hui’s entrepreneurial attitude is revealed in the colophons on *Autumn Mountains, Red Trees*, dated 1670 (pl. 28).¹³⁹ An inscription by Wang Shimin notes that Wang Hui resisted his teacher’s desire to obtain the painting, presumably because he could sell it to another for a higher price: “On a spring night, Wang Hui, passing through Loudong [Taicang], brought this painting to show me. I wanted to keep it but, noticing Wang’s reluctance to give it up, did not insist, though I was sorely disappointed.”¹⁴⁰ Yun Shouping also hoped to acquire the painting but was similarly disappointed, as he reveals in a second inscription indicating that, after he and Wang Shimin had added their encomiums, the painting passed to a certain Mr. Xu, who immediately transferred it to Pan Yuanbo, also a recipient of one of Wang Hui’s replicas of *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*:

*I happened to stop by the water pavilion of the Xu family and found that this painting had been acquired by Mr. Pan [Pan Yuanbo] of Jinsha [Yixing]. I felt surprised and jealous. . . . Could it be that Xilu’s [Wang Shimin’s] and my own appreciation of art do not compare with Mr. Pan’s! . . . I wonder how Shigu [Wang Hui] will face our mockery upon meeting Xilu or me in the future.*¹⁴¹

To his teacher and to his friend, Wang Hui’s unwillingness to part freely with his paintings was an increasing annoyance. They came to resent the artist’s solicitation of their inscriptions, which enhanced the value of his paintings, as well as the many commissions he received from wealthy clients. Tang Yuzhao, for example, mentions in a letter to Wang Hui that “several friends in Jinsha have been desperately looking for you. . . . They have already asked me three times about your well-being.”¹⁴² To Yun Shouping, Wang’s commercial success appeared to contradict completely the amateur ideal, which for centuries had aimed at removing the taint of vulgar commercialism from the production and exchange of works of art.¹⁴³ In another inscription for one of Wang Hui’s paintings, Yun told of how Su Shi (1037–1101), after receiving a request from Wang Shen (ca. 1048–1103), took some Chengxin Tang paper to make a piece of calligraphy and presented it to Wang Shen as a gift without thinking of its monetary value. The story was intended to remind Wang Hui of the ideal of giving away paintings as tokens of friendship among fellow literati.¹⁴⁴ At the end of the inscription, Yun Shou-

ping adopted a sarcastic tone to admonish Wang for his relentless pursuit of material gain:

*Nantiansheng [Yun Shouping] and Shiguzi [Wang Hui] have been good friends for twenty years, yet in my bamboo chest there are just a few of his small paintings, yet his casual acquaintances own many of his large paintings. The year before last, I took out an inkstone from my collection to trade for a fan painting by Shigu. And so, Shigu in his warm-heartedness does not yet know when he can complete our story of Poweng [Su Shi] who wrote the “Huangni Bo” [Huangni Ban] poem on the Tengxin Tang [sic] [Chengxin Tang] paper.*¹⁴⁵

Because wealthy clients did not balk at spending high sums to acquire his works, Wang Hui became acutely aware of the value of his artistry and reserved his best work for high-priced commissions. As competition among collectors caused Wang Hui’s prices to soar, he became increasingly unwilling to make paintings for friends.

In addition to its valuable colophons, *Autumn Mountains, Red Trees* marks a significant moment in Wang Hui’s artistic development, when he began to formulate a method of achieving a stylistic synthesis out of disparate pictorial sources. In the eyes of his contemporaries, Wang’s genius lay in his ability to revitalize past styles through a creative “Great Synthesis” (*dacheng*) of earlier models. This landscape’s extensive use of the pictorial idioms of Wang Meng was acknowledged by Wang Hui himself, as recounted in Yun Shouping’s inscription mounted above the painting:

*Wumu Shanren [Wang Hui] once told me, “I have seen no fewer than twenty genuine works by Wang Shuming [Wang Meng] in my life. Among them there are three that are most extraordinary. From Thatched Hall in Autumn Mountains I came to understand his methods. I saw Summer Mountains at Tang [Yuzhao’s] in Piling [Changzhou] and grasped his subtle taste. Finally I viewed Buddhist Temple and Mountain Passes. It opened my eyes and enlightened my mind. I investigated all the transformations he made. . . .”*¹⁴⁶

According to Wang Shimin’s inscription, “While this painting by Wang Hui follows Wang Meng’s idiom, its brushwork and design are completely indebted to that of Wang Wei. Accordingly, the lofty and fantastic influence of [Wang Wei] has helped Wang Hui move beyond the confines of Wang Meng’s style.”¹⁴⁷ In *Autumn Mountains, Red Trees*, Wang Hui has revitalized Wang Meng’s pictorial idioms with his own creativity and made the old forms astonishingly new.



Pl. 28 (cat. 10). Wang Hui
(1632–1717). *Autumn Mountains,
Red Trees*, dated 1670. Hanging
scroll, ink and color on paper,
44 ¼ × 15 ½ in. (112.4 × 39.5 cm).
National Palace Museum, Taipei



Pl. 29. Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Clearing after Snow at Shanyin, after Wang Wei*, dated 1671 (detail, pl. 30)

THE “GREAT SYNTHESIS,” 1670–1680

In his early career, Wang Hui was successful in building his reputation as the most talented copyist and highest-paid painter in the south. As he enjoyed greater wealth and fame, he began self-consciously to fashion his own artistic identity. In an inscription on a painting given to Zhou Lianggong, datable to 1669, he pointedly criticized the contemporary art scene:

Alas, how the art of painting has declined nowadays! The decline started in recent times when a number of separate schools branched off and developed corrupt practices. Gu Kaizhi [of the Eastern Jin dynasty], Lu Tanwei and Zhang Sengyou [of the Northern and Southern dynasties], and Wu Daozi [of the Tang], how remote they are today! From the time of the Senior and Junior Generals Li [Li Sixun and Li Zhaodao] and Wang Wei [of the Tang], Jing Hao [of the Five Dynasties] to that of Li Cheng and Fan Kuan [of the Northern Song], Dong Yuan and Juran [of the Five Dynasties], and the four great masters of the Yuan [Huang Gongwang, Ni Zan, Wu Zhen, and Wang Meng], each generation had its own heritage and tradition, and each enjoyed a high reputation. They did not simply live on the leavings of their predecessors or follow trends. Thus, Huang Gongwang’s manner was hoary and rich, Ni Zan’s plain and quiet, Wu Zhen’s deep and strong, and Wang Meng’s dense and refined. Although they all followed Dong Yuan, they transformed his art so that they were all different. This is the way in which a master could serve as a model for many generations without any ill effects.¹⁴⁸

Wang Hui not only extolled the uniqueness and merit of each ancient master’s style, but also emphasized the equal value of every style for later painters, remarking that “each has served as a model for many generations.” In his view, the current decline in painting was largely due to the partisan practice of

local schools asserting the superiority of some masters over others. Wang Hui further stated:

But recently the manners and taste of painters have increasingly declined, their habits have become low and subservient, and a controversy over the various schools has arisen. After Dai Jin [1388–1462] and Wu Wei [1459–1508], the Zhe [Hangzhou] School was firmly established; after Shen Zhou [1427–1509] and Wen Zhengming [1470–1559], the Wu [Suzhou] School flourished. Dong Qichang [1555–1636] revitalized a period of decline and grasped the essence of Dong’s [Dong Yuan’s] and Ju’s [Juran’s] art. Later artists, following the fad [of Dong Qichang], willfully claimed they belonged to the Yunjian [Songjiang] School. The two Master Wangs [Shimin and Jian] are rooted in the arts of the Song and Yuan periods; their paintings are equal to those of their great predecessors. Painters near and far competed eagerly in imitating these masters, and thus the Loudong [Taicang] School was started. There have been many minor currents as well. Every painter started his own school, until they became more numerous than can be counted on the fingers. Most of them perpetuated bad habits and mistakes until elegant flair disappeared completely. . . . I, for years, was constrained by these vulgar minor schools and did not know how to free myself from them. Those who sided with the Yunjian School severely criticized the Zhe School, and those who followed the Loudong School slandered the Wu School. Thus, I was at a loss about how to paint, my limited understanding could not discern the subtle points. . . . I took all these [schools] into my heart and practiced [them] with my hand, and I am glad that I can no longer be led astray by the current schools and may feel some self-confidence.¹⁴⁹

Wang Hui’s awareness of the contradictory views and factional practices of each school led him to seek a new mode of landscape painting. Although a student of Wang Shimin and Wang Jian, the leaders of the Loudong School, he was also critical of their



Fig. 64. Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Landscape after Li Cheng's "Clearing after Snow"* (detail), dated 1667. Ink and color on paper, 8 ¾ in. × 9 ft. 1 ½ in. (22.2 × 277.9 cm). Location unknown, formerly private collection, Osaka

parochial attitude toward other schools. His solution was to focus on fundamental issues rather than petty differences. Seeking to transcend the conflicting views of contemporary painters, he proclaimed his own theory of painting: "I must use the brush and ink of the Yuan to move the peaks and valleys of the Song, and infuse them with the breath-resonance of the Tang. I will then have a work of the Great Synthesis."¹⁵⁰ The theoretical implications of this terse statement are profound. Wang Hui was proposing nothing less than an entirely new approach to landscape painting, one that was grounded in Song compositions, modeled with rich calligraphic Yuan brushwork, and infused with the hoary spirit of the Tang.

By revitalizing and integrating the great achievements of earlier landscape painting styles, Wang Hui sought to achieve an all-inclusive synthesis that embraced the entire spectrum of painting models from the Tang to the Yuan, ranging from the abstract and calligraphic to the descriptive and decorative.¹⁵¹ As Wen Fong has argued, Wang Hui's theory of a Great Synthesis was more than a mere personal statement on the theoretical foundations of his own landscape painting. It was, in fact, an ambitious proclamation intended not only to put an end to the fragmentation of the art world but also to lay the foundations for a new, universal landscape art.¹⁵² Unlike his teachers and other contemporaries who advocated Dong Qichang's theory and practice of literati painting, Wang Hui gave equal emphasis to a range of past styles and models without privileging one over the other.

In contrast to another contemporary, Shitao (1642–1707), who utterly rejected the imitation of past masters in favor of change and innovation, Wang Hui asserted the great value of previous models.¹⁵³ Seeing the past as something that could be infinitely reinterpreted, Wang sought to forge a vital interdependence between tradition and innovation by

internalizing and reinterpreting prior models. His acceptance of all past models as valid implicitly challenged the hierarchy of historical styles established by Dong Qichang, a hierarchy that placed literati painting and Yuan masters above professional painting and Song painters.¹⁵⁴ For Wang Hui, Song and Yuan paintings were equally important sources of inspiration, as were both professional and literati painting. Thus, there could be no hierarchical distinction between Song naturalism, Yuan brushwork, and Tang breath-resonance.

An early indication of Wang Hui's desire to rediscover the antique roots of the Orthodox style is evidenced in *Clearing after Snow at Shanyin, after Wang Wei* (pls. 29, 30), in which he creatively reinterprets the archaic style associated with the eighth-century master whom Dong Qichang considered to be the patriarch of his Orthodox lineage of "southern masters." The painting is also an important early example of how Wang Hui drew upon ancient precedents to revive long handscroll compositions. In style, theme, and composition, it is extremely close to Wang Hui's *Landscape after Li Cheng's "Clearing after Snow"* of 1667 (fig. 64). By linking the style of these two works, Wang affirmed the Orthodox lineage first asserted by Dong Qichang, in which the origins of Li Cheng's style are traced back to Wang Wei (701–761) and his groundbreaking winter landscape paintings.

In *Clearing after Snow*, the composition opens with a broad panoramic river view, then abruptly shifts to a range of massive boulders, large trees, and twisting and turning rocks. The abrupt change from horizontal to vertical imagery, from an open, expansive vista to a close-up of near-ground trees or mountains, is one of the most important compositional devices that Wang Hui used to enhance the drama of his handscroll compositions. By 1667 Wang's genius for creating spatial tension through surprising alternations of



Pl. 30 (cat. 12). Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Clearing after Snow at Shanyin*, after Wang Wei, dated 1671. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. $\times$ 8 ft. 11 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (21.2 $\times$ 273.5 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei



Pls. 31–33 (cat. 14).
Wang Hui (1632–1717).
In Pursuit of Antiquity: Landscapes after Song and Yuan Masters, dated 1673. Leaves B (this page, above), C (opposite, above), and G (opposite, below) from an album of twelve paintings, nine in ink on paper and three in ink and color on paper, 6 7/8–8 1/4 × 11 1/4–13 1/4 in. (17.6–22.6 × 29.8–33.5 cm). Princeton University Art Museum, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse (y1973-67)



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Fig. 65. Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Verdant Peaks and a Hundred Ranges*, dated 1673. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 47 1/4 × 23 3/4 in. (120 × 60.6 cm). Shanghai Museum

“rising-and-falling” and “opening-and-closing” movements and kinesthetic momentum (*shi*) is already clear.¹⁵⁵ Although the styles of Li Cheng and Wang Wei were primary sources of inspiration for Wang Hui’s winter landscapes, the artist revitalized the past tradition with his own genius and creative power.

The importance of this handscroll is attested to by the presence of a colophon by the well-known collector Da Chongguang. Da, a native of Dantu (Zhenjiang), received his *jinsbi* degree in 1652. He later rose to the rank of governor of Jiangsu after having spent years as a censor in office. At the end of his life, he became a student of Daoism, retiring to Mount Mao (Maoshan), south of Nanjing.¹⁵⁶ Da built a fine collection of paintings and calligraphy, including *Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies*, attributed to Gu Kaizhi (ca. 344–ca. 406) (British Museum), and *Delight in Cloudy Mountains*, attributed to Mi Youren (National Palace Museum, Taipei).¹⁵⁷ During the 1670s and early 1680s Da became a major supporter and patron of Wang Hui and provided numerous colophons and inscriptions for the painter’s works.¹⁵⁸ These inscriptions, like those of Wang Shimin, enhanced the value of Wang Hui’s paintings and helped to promote his reputation in the Jiangnan region.¹⁵⁹



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LI ZONGKONG

Wang Hui's Great Synthesis was a direct result of his encounters during the late 1660s with certain monumental northern landscapes of the Five Dynasties and Northern Song periods. His extensive study of these works had a profound impact on his painting practice, prompting him to challenge the

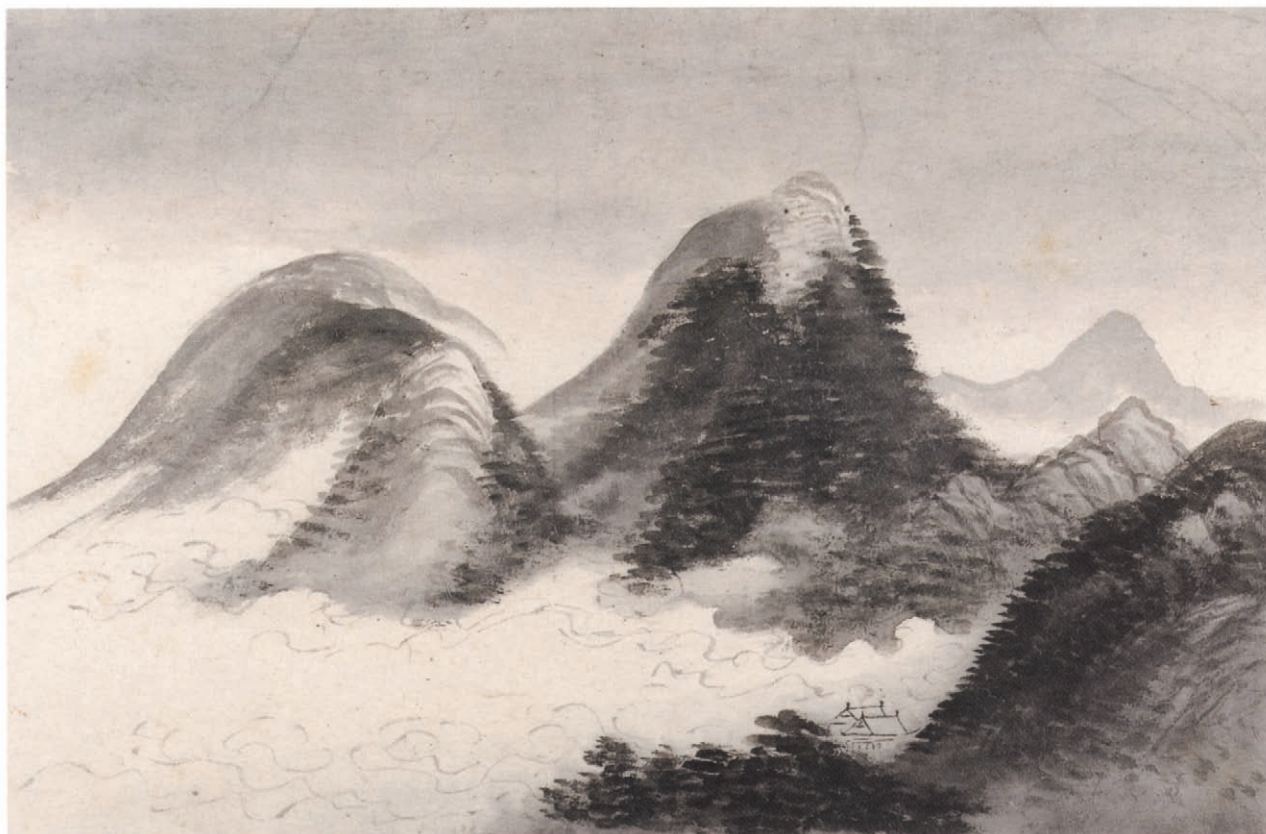
Orthodox teachings of Dong Qichang and Wang Shimin, which stressed the supreme value of Yuan literati landscape painting. Although Wang Hui considered Yuan brushwork and Tang breath-resonance to be essential components of his painting, he now gave new importance to the "peaks and valleys of the Song." At the heart of the painter's deepening interest in northern landscapes was his association with the

Overleaf: Pl. 34 (cat. 14).
Wang Hui (1632–1717).
Leaf H from *In Pursuit of
Antiquity: Landscapes after Song
and Yuan Masters*, dated 1673





Pls. 35–38 (cat. 14). Wang Hui (1632–1717). Leaves I (this page, above), J (this page, below), K (opposite, above), and L (opposite, below) from *In Pursuit of Antiquity: Landscapes after Song and Yuan Masters*, dated 1673



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hitherto unrecognized collector Li Zongkong (1618–1701), whose patronage fundamentally changed the course of Wang Hui's painting and laid the ground-work for the landscapes of his later years.

Li Zongkong was born in Taixing, Jiangsu Province, and later moved to Jiangdu (Yangzhou).¹⁶⁰ He had two

style names, Shuyun (Book of Clouds) and Shulou (Book Pavilion).¹⁶¹ Li obtained a *jinshi* degree in 1647, later became a censor (*yushi*), and was subsequently promoted to supervising secretary (*jishizhong* or *jijian*) in the Board of Civil Office.¹⁶² His stature as a scholar is confirmed by the fact that he was one of the court



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officials empowered to recommend candidates for the *Boxue hongci* of 1679.¹⁶³ This court-directed special examination was created in order to recruit prominent Ming-loyalist scholars and literary talents to participate in the compilation of the official history of the Ming dynasty (*Mingshi*). Moreover, in 1699, in

conjunction with his third Southern Tour of the same year, the Kangxi emperor bestowed calligraphic works on members of the imperial family and on several high officials including Li Zongkong, who received two such pieces.¹⁶⁴ This honor demonstrates that Li's political power at court was not insignificant, and



Pl. 39A (cat. 8). Wang Hui (1632–1717). *The Colors of Mount Taihang*, dated 1669. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 10 × 82 ½ in. (25.3 × 209.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Ex coll.: C. C. Wang Family, Gift of Douglas Dillon, 1978 (1978.423)

indeed records indicate that he sent more than forty confidential letters to the emperor.¹⁶⁵ Eminent officials and scholars frequently enjoyed evening banquets at his Beijing residence, which boasted a beautiful garden.¹⁶⁶

Although Li Zongkong's collection has yet to be reconstructed, he was evidently one of Yangzhou's leading collectors. Two of the most important paintings he owned were *Pure Withdrawal in a Secluded Grove*, dated 1350, attributed to Wang Meng (National Palace Museum, Taipei),¹⁶⁷ and *Birds and Flowers*, a beautiful handscroll by Qian Xuan (ca. 1235–1301 or later), dated 1294 (Tianjin Museum).¹⁶⁸ Li also possessed several famous pieces of calligraphy, including *Short Essay Beginning with Xiaozhi* by Huang Tingjian (1045–1105) and a series of the *Letters* by Mi Fu (1052–1107), now mounted as a set of nine handscrolls, eight of which bear Li's seals.¹⁶⁹

The earliest record of Li Zongkong's connection with Wang Hui appears in Wang's album *In Pursuit of Antiquity: Landscapes after Song and Yuan Masters*, painted for Wang Shimin in 1673 (see pls. 8–11, 31–38).¹⁷⁰ In his inscription, Wang Hui mentions that he painted this work “at the Mi Yuan [Secret Garden] of Mr. Li [Zongkong] of Weiyang [present-day Yangzhou]” (pl. 37).¹⁷¹ Li also added colophons to two leaves from the album (see Catalogue, no. 14).¹⁷² Another such work, executed about the same time, is *Verdant Peaks and a Hundred Ranges* (fig. 65), which Wang Hui painted while staying at “the Pavilion of Planting Pines [Zhongsong Xuan] of Mr. Li [Zongkong] of Guangling [Yangzhou].” This landscape, which combines the styles of Juran,

Wu Zhen, and Huang Gongwang, bears inscriptions by Wang Shimin, Liu Yu (1620–after 1689), Zhou Eryan (active second half seventeenth century), and others. Li Zongkong, Liu Yu, and Zhou Eryan also contributed colophons to *In Pursuit of Antiquity*.¹⁷³

In Pursuit of Antiquity exemplifies Wang Hui's passionate exploration of the styles of various Song and Yuan masters including some, such as Guo Xi (pls. 36, 38), whom he had never before emulated. In addition, as Whitfield has noted, most of the paintings in the album are not direct copies of surviving paintings but Wang Hui's creative reinterpretations of past masters' styles.¹⁷⁴ In a leaf that Yun Shouping says in his colophon is done in the manner of Dong Yuan, for example (pl. 31), there is no sign of Dong's stylistic hallmarks. The painting is clearly Wang's own reinterpretation and transformation of Dong's style. Aware of Wang's bold reworking, Yun goes on to state that Wang Hui's “metamorphosis is divine and brilliant.”¹⁷⁵

The album opens with a landscape in the manner of Juran (see pl. 8) that is drawn from the upper part of the Princeton painting *Mist Floating on a Distant Peak*, in Imitation of Juran (pl. 27). The same calligraphic brushwork and abstract design, characteristic of Dong Qichang's so-called Southern School style, are also evident in the landscape of cloudy mountains after Mi Fu (1052–1107; pl. 33). Two leaves executed in color, however, suggest that Wang Hui paid equal attention to more descriptive and decorative styles, which were largely excluded from Dong Qichang's Orthodox canon. One, derived from the style of the Southern Song Academician Li



Di (active ca. 1113–after 1197), for example, shows a bucolic scene of a herdboys and his buffalo painted in subtle ink washes and soft colors (pl. 32), while another presents a late autumnal landscape executed in the rich palette of the blue-and-green painting tradition (pl. 34). Despite the colorful style of this leaf, Wang Hui's disciplined, calligraphic brushwork transforms this decorative mode into a composition of ornamental splendor and poetic suggestiveness. *In Pursuit of Antiquity* presents clear evidence that Wang Hui had not only expanded his knowledge of past masters' compositions but also transformed them, melding disparate styles that ranged from the purely abstract and calligraphic to the ornamental and descriptive. Moving beyond the stylistic confines of the Orthodox School, he had taken a crucial step toward the invention of a new type of landscape painting through his Great Synthesis.

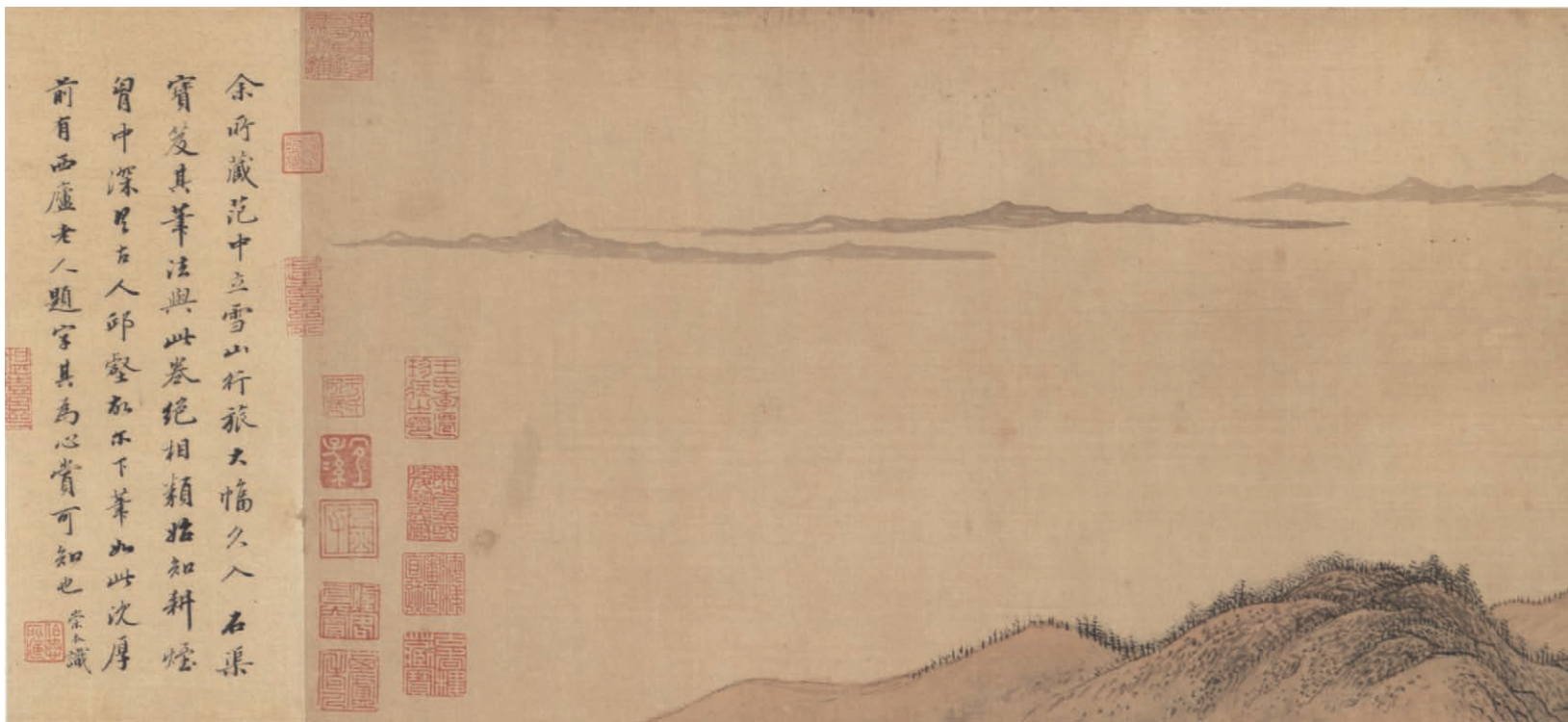
GUAN TONG AND THE MONUMENTAL LANDSCAPE

The Colors of Mount Taihang (pl. 39A,B), a handscroll painted in 1669, documents Wang Hui's shift in interest from the Yuan literati styles of Huang Gongwang and Wang Meng to the monumental landscape manner of the Five Dynasties and Northern Song.¹⁷⁶ Judging from his surviving works, Wang Hui had never before painted a landscape such as this, inspired by Guan Tong (active ca. 907–23), as revealed in his inscription:

Once at Guangling [Yangzhou], in the home of a noble family, I saw a small scroll by Guan Tong, "Cloudy Peaks



Fig. 66. Unidentified artist, formerly attributed to Guan Tong (active ca. 907–23). *Autumn Mountains at Dusk*, 11th century. Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 55 3/4 × 22 1/2 in. (140.5 × 57.3 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei



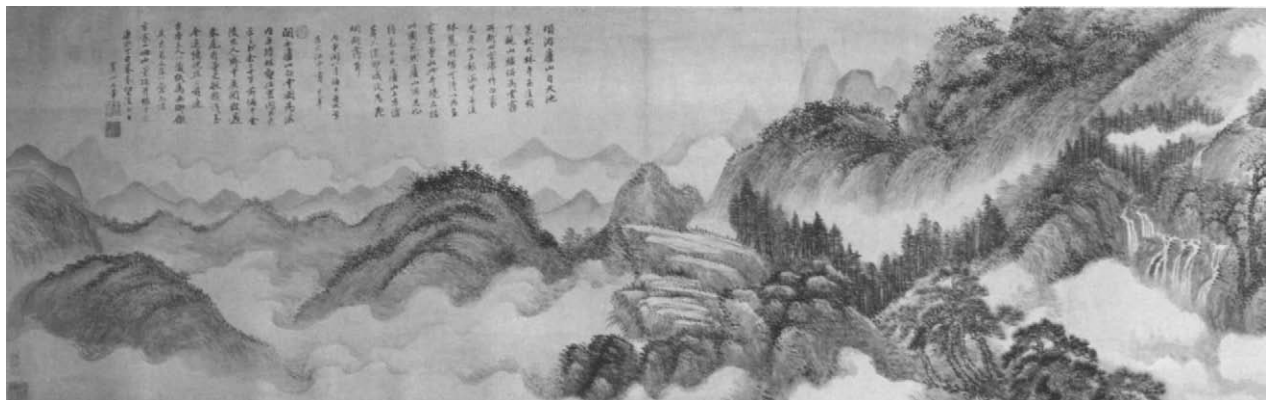
Pl. 39B (cat. 8). Wang Hui (1632–1717). *The Colors of Mount Taihang*, dated 1669

Racing Together.” In spirit it was luxuriant and dense, truly, it might “pierce the heart and startle the eye.” Even today, I remember one or two tenths of it: accordingly I have imitated its method and made this “Colors of Mt. Taihang.” [The painting] must have the deep and heroic atmosphere of the Northern land, and not become attractive with pretty details. The year jiyou [1669], three days after the mid-autumn festival, Wang Hui of Yushan [made] and inscribed [this painting].¹⁷⁷

That the “noble family” referred to was undoubtedly Li Zongkong’s is corroborated by an almost identical inscription by Wang on an album of landscapes in the manner of ancient masters, dated 1675: “Once at Guangling, in the home of Supervising Secretary Li, I saw a small scroll by Guan Tong.”¹⁷⁸ Among Wang Hui’s early friends and patrons, no one other than Li Zongkong had both the surname Li and the official title Supervising Secretary.¹⁷⁹

Li Zongkong also owned one of the key monuments of early Chinese landscape painting, *Autumn Mountains at Dusk*, formerly attributed to Guan Tong (fig. 66).¹⁸⁰ Before entering Li’s collection, this work had been in the Ming imperial collection and had also been owned by the connoisseur Wang Duo (1592–1652).¹⁸¹ Although Wang Hui claimed that his *Colors of Mount Taihang* was modeled on *Cloudy Peaks Racing Together*, it may have also been influenced by *Autumn Mountains*. The imposing cliff that overhangs a small stream at the beginning of *Colors* bears a striking resemblance to the massive foreground boulder in *Autumn Mountains*. The similarity is even greater when *Autumn Mountains* is viewed horizontally like a handscroll. The basic pictorial elements—high mountains, cascades in a mountain valley, streams running below an overhanging cliff, a small bridge under a boulder, and heavy clouds nestled in the mountains—all appear in both

Fig. 67. Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Mount Lu Shrouded in White Clouds*, dated 1697. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 13 3/4 × 48 3/8 in. (35 × 124 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing





paintings. Even a small mountaintop pagoda in *Autumn Mountains* is replicated in the middle section of *Colors*.

While adopting the basic composition of *Autumn Mountains* for his scroll, Wang Hui added travelers crossing the bridge, a densely forested promontory, a small temple complex silhouetted against the clouds, and a final expanse of clouds and water. More important, he also endowed his scroll with a powerful “dragon-vein” sense of movement. The pulsating rhythms of the mountains and cliffs, with their diagonal thrusts and counterthrusts, create a grand vision of a dynamic landscape in which all the elements are in a state of transition and transformation. This sense of metamorphosis, enhanced by constant shifts of viewpoint, is even more effectively dramatized by the sudden opening of a vast expanse of water and clouds that recedes toward a distant range of mountains at the end of the scroll.

Wang Hui’s fascination with the “deep and heroic atmosphere” of Guan Tong’s northern landscapes began to take shape in the late 1660s according to his inscription on his scroll *Mount Lu Shrouded in White Clouds*, dated 1697 (fig. 67). The artist mentions there that he had seen a Guan Tong handscroll with the same title and with a colophon by Dong Qichang thirty years earlier at a friend’s studio in Nanjing.¹⁸² A 1698 colophon by Jiang Chenying (1628–1699) on the same work indicates that it was based on a faithful copy (*linben*) Wang made in his youth.¹⁸³

The Colors of Mount Taihang not only manifests Wang Hui’s innovative revival of the Guan Tong

manner, but also marks a significant step toward his reinvention of Five Dynasties and Northern Song panoramic landscape compositions. Working in a mode that Michael Sullivan referred to as “monumental intimism,”¹⁸⁴ Wang Hui experimented here with compressing myriad peaks, huge boulders, and a vast river into a small handscroll. This ability to miniaturize heroic landscapes into the handscroll format led Wang to develop ever-longer panoramas, which became a defining feature of his personal style.

The Colors of Mount Taihang presents an astonishing landscape panorama of this mountain range as it extends to the Yellow River. Stretching southward from the highlands of Shanxi to meet the Yellow River, the mountains then proceed farther south until they reach the immense flatlands of northern Henan. Because of their high peaks, steep slopes, narrow valleys, and deep ravines, they appear in most literary descriptions as dangers encountered by travelers.¹⁸⁵ In his poem “A First Visit to the Taihang Mountains,” Bai Juyi (772–846) describes the treacherous terrain:

On a cold day without sun
The Taihang Mountains stand dark and lush.
I once heard that the place was full of danger,
But now I come alone.
My horse treads on the frigid and slippery ground
Of winding narrow paths difficult to climb.
Yet if you compare this road with the society we live in,
It is as flat as the palm of your hand. . . .¹⁸⁶



Pl. 40 (cat. 17). Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Landscape after Guan Tong's "Streams and Mountains Clearing after Mist,"* dated 1678. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 11 ½ in. × 11 ft. 7 in. (29.3 × 353 cm). Shanghai Museum

A poem by the scholar Zhao Zhixin (1662–1744), entitled “Looking Down at the Yellow River from atop Mount Taihang,” offers another dramatic description:¹⁸⁷

*At dawn as the mountain turns red,
People are already roaming through the foothills.
A wide range of towering peaks stretches to the sky;
Hanging clouds still make it bitterly cold.
Winter is deep; ice and snow cover the land,
I am afraid that my horse cannot go through.
In front of me, the landscape suddenly becomes overwhelming:
A thousand ranks of trees and mist spread along two rivers.
Where the mist parts and the trees diminish,
The blue and yellow streaks [of the rivers] stretch to the horizon.
At first sight, it appears like colorful clouds blown by the wind
Or like a rainbow rising in the east. . . .*¹⁸⁸

Like the poems by Bai Juyi and Zhao Zhixin, Wang Hui’s *Colors of Mount Taihang* conveys something of the mountain’s sublime wildness: the dark and threatening mountain passes suddenly part to reveal a view across the vast expanse of the Yellow River.

Wang’s meticulous depiction of granite rocks, eroded terrain, varied cloud formations, and dense foliage shows his acute awareness of the topography of Mount Taihang. But his aim was not merely to describe its physical features but also to convey the cosmic grandeur of nature—the same goal pursued by the landscape painters of the Northern Song. For Wang, *Autumn Mountains at Dusk* and other works then attributed to Guan Tong epitomized the life-force and the powerful “breath-resonance of the Tang.”

“THE TWO WINGS OF A BIRD”

Wang Hui continued to draw inspiration from the Guan Tong style and the “breath-resonance of the Tang” in his *Landscape after Guan Tong’s “Streams and Mountains Clearing after Mist”* of 1678 (pls. 40, 41). This painting shares many compositional features and motifs with *The Colors of Mount Taihang*. The scroll opens with a mountain village nestled amid clusters of rocks and trees. The next section shows



overhanging and protruding boulders stretching diagonally toward a mist-filled mountain range dotted with rocks, tall trees, and Buddhist temples. The composition then abruptly opens up with a view across a broad marshland, where a solitary fisherman sits in his boat, to rounded mountains in the distance. Employing Fan Kuan's raindrop dotting patterns to animate the surface of his painting, Wang counterbalances his vigorous brushwork with an extensive use of ink and color washes to delineate the rocks and distant mountains (pl. 41). His blue and green hues, evocative of the blue-and-green manner of the Tang period, were undoubtedly intended to refer to the "breath-resonance of the Tang."

Wang Hui's interest in Guan Tong-style landscapes and, more broadly, in the monumental landscapes of the Five Dynasties and Northern Song was of great significance in the formation of his mature style. His rediscovery of the patriarchs of northern landscape in turn led him to challenge the teachings of the Orthodox School and Dong

Qichang's prioritization of Southern School masters, such as Wang Wei, Dong Yuan, and Huang Gongwang, in his historical genealogy of literati amateurism.¹⁸⁹ In a conversation with Yun Shouping, Wang raised questions about Dong Qichang's theory, as Yun reported:

*Dong Qichang once said, "In painting, it is better to be obscure than to be obvious." Whereas Wang Hui said, "Painting has its 'obvious' and 'obscure' aspects. These are like the two wings of a bird, neither could be used singly at the expense of the other. When the obvious and the obscure are equally perfected, a spirited 'breath' will emerge." I think the two masters' principles are contradictory. I have to ask Wang Shimin whether these principles can be reconciled in order to find a better solution.*¹⁹⁰

Dong Qichang was an enthusiastic advocate of the superiority of abstract, calligraphic Yuan brushwork over Song naturalism. For Dong, favoring the "obscure" meant favoring abstraction over descriptive representation. For Wang Hui, however, brushwork

Overleaf: Pl. 41. Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Landscape after Guan Tong's "Streams and Mountains Clearing after Mist,"* dated 1678 (detail, pl. 40)







Pl. 42 (cat. 15). Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Pavilion amid Woods and Verdant Peaks, Following the Brush Ideas of Guan Tong*, dated 1674. Leaf D in *Landscapes after Ancient Masters*. Ink and color on paper, $8\frac{3}{4} \times 13\frac{1}{4}$ in. (22 x 33.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, The Dillon Fund Gift, 1989 (1989.141.4)

雲腰千嶺碧
水末一亭秋

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and representation should be equally emphasized. These “two wings of a bird” were closely related to his theory of a Great Synthesis, in which the brush and ink of the Yuan are united with the peaks and valleys of the Song.

The differences between Wang Hui’s and Dong Qichang’s approaches to landscape painting become clearer when *The Colors of Mount Taihang* is compared with Dong’s *River and Mountains on a Clear Autumn Day* (see fig. 5). In the former, Wang combines vigorous brushwork, dynamic compositional structures, and meticulous detail to create a visually exciting landscape capturing the mimetic qualities of the Song.¹⁹¹ In the latter, Dong sacrifices naturalism in favor of an abstract rendering of forms and austere linear brushwork that is nearly devoid of tactile appeal. As James Cahill has observed, Dong Qichang’s abstract style was devised by the most minimal adherence to natural appearances.¹⁹² Wang Hui’s theory of a Great Synthesis and his balancing of the obscure and the obvious were intended to challenge Dong’s purely formalist concerns by fusing Song techniques of descriptive representation with Yuan calligraphic idioms, thus revitalizing the monumental styles of Five Dynasties and Northern Song masters. Wang’s association with Li Zongkong during the late 1660s and his encounter with works attributed to Guan Tong enabled him to break free from his earlier education and begin to formulate a new mode of panoramic landscape.

Landscapes after Ancient Masters, an album of twelve leaves, dated 1674 and 1677 (see Catalogue, no. 15), epitomizes Wang’s departure from the Orthodox principles established by Dong Qichang and documents his move toward the Great Synthesis.¹⁹³ The album combines ten leaves from an original album of twelve painted by Wang Hui for Wang Shimin in the spring of 1674 with two leaves from a second album of twelve painted by Wang Shimin between 1674 and 1677 in response to Wang Hui’s album. In this work, Wang Hui presented his own reinterpretations of the painting styles of past masters from the Tang, Song, and Yuan, including Wang Wei, Li Cheng, Guan Tong, Juran, Zhao Lingrang, Zhao Mengfu, Gao Kegong, Huang Gongwang, and Wang Meng. Not surprisingly, one leaf, *Pavilion amid Woods and Verdant Peaks, Following the Brush Ideas of Guan Tong* (pl. 42), shows his continued interest in the Guan Tong style. Together with *In Pursuit of Antiquity*, *Landscapes after Ancient Masters* elucidates how Wang Hui accomplished a new unity among seemingly incompatible models through his creative transformation of his sources.

Wang Hui’s virtuosic condensing and reshaping of large compositions into a miniature format in *Landscapes after Ancient Masters* anticipates the defining characteristic of his landscape panoramas of the 1680s and 1690s. By successfully adapting the large-scale compositions of Five Dynasties and Northern Song landscape painting to the handscroll format without losing any sense of comprehensiveness and monumentality, Wang achieved the Northern Song ideal of “sweeping ten-thousand miles into a square foot.”¹⁹⁴

STREAMS AND MOUNTAINS WITHOUT END: 1680–1700

After the suppression of the Revolt of the Three Feudatories in 1681 and the annexation of Taiwan in 1683, the Kangxi reign entered a time of peace and prosperity.¹⁹⁵ The Kangxi emperor (r. 1662–1722) embarked in 1684 on his first Southern Inspection Tour, which, despite its proclaimed purpose of river inspections, was actually designed to consolidate Manchu rule over the south as well as to celebrate the beginning of a new era.¹⁹⁶ Wang Hui responded rapidly to the changed political and cultural environment of the early 1680s. His mentors and promoters Wang Jian and Wang Shimin had died in 1677 and in 1680, respectively, after having helped to establish him as one of the most celebrated painters in the south. Wang Hui now began to seek new patrons to expand his reputation even further.

SINGDE AND XU QIANXUE

One of the most crucial moments in Wang Hui’s career came in 1685, when the Manchu dignitary Singde (1654–1685), an imperial bodyguard, prominent scholar-poet, and confidant of Kangxi, invited Wang Hui to Beijing shortly after accompanying the emperor on his first Southern Tour.¹⁹⁷ Although no firsthand account exists detailing what motivated Singde to bring Wang Hui to the capital, an examination of Singde’s political and cultural life there sheds important light on how this connection benefited the artist.

Singde was the eldest son of Mingju (1635–1708), one of the most powerful Manchu officials of the period.¹⁹⁸ Closely related by marriage to the imperial clan, Mingju and members of his family became high officials in the early Qing period, he himself being one of the emperor’s closest confidants.¹⁹⁹ Singde’s successful career as an official and cultural luminary was, above all, due to his father’s position. Like his

father, Singde began his career as an officer in the imperial bodyguard, a post he held until his death.²⁰⁰ He took his *juren* degree in 1672 and passed the palace examination in 1676. But Singde was also highly cultured. His poetry, appreciated for its melancholic sensibility, was widely acclaimed by his contemporaries; today he is regarded as the most distinguished *ci* poet of the early Qing period.²⁰¹ Although Singde was precocious and extremely gifted in literature, his talent was further cultivated by the tutoring he received from the renowned scholar-official Xu Qianxue (1631–1694). The *Portrait of Singde* by Yu Zhiding (1647–1716), probably painted shortly before the sitter's death, depicts this cultured Manchu as a noble scholar seated cross-legged on a couch with a wine cup in his hand (fig. 68).

Singde also formed a distinguished collection of paintings and calligraphy, a large part of which appears to have come from his father.²⁰² Two of his most notable acquisitions were by Zhao Mengfu, *Autumn Colors on the Qiao and Hua Mountains* of 1296,²⁰³ and *Water Village* of 1302 (see figs. 7, 55). Other prominent works in his collection included *Summer Heat* by Yang Ningshi (873–954) (Palace Museum, Beijing); a Song-period rubbing of the *Dingwu* version of *Lanting Gathering* by Wang Xizhi (303–361); and *Poems Written at Huangzhou on the Cold-Food Festival* by Su Shi (1037–1101), datable to 1082 (National Palace Museum, Taipei).²⁰⁴ Shortly before Singde died in 1685, he also acquired *River Temple in the Long Summer* by Li Tang (ca. 1070s–ca. 1150s), a blue-and-green landscape in the manner of Li Sixun (651–716) (Palace Museum, Beijing).²⁰⁵

Although there exists no textual evidence detailing the personal relationship between Singde and Wang Hui, an account by Xu Qianxue's eldest son, Xu Shugu (*jinsi*, 1685), offers an insight into why Singde invited the artist to Beijing:

Mr. Wang Shigu's [Wang Hui's] reputation in the art world has been established for more than thirty years. Yanke [Wang Shimin], Meicun [Wu Weiye], and Liyuan [Zhou Liang-gong] all praised his outstanding ability in painting as surpassing that of the masters, both ancient and present. Acquiring one of his paintings now is as difficult as possessing a heavenly pearl or a precious jade. . . . Imperial Bodyguard Cheng [Singde] from Mount Changbai once visited my father's studio, where he saw a brush and ink [painting] by Mr. Wang. He thought that the painting was a treasure equal to the Udumbara flower, which one encounters only once in a thousand years. He felt sorry that Mr. Wang was so far from the capital that it was impossible to shorten the distance and shake hands. Later, he asked my father to convey his letter to Mr. Wang. He also requested that my father forward his letters to both Mr. Wang



Fig. 68. Yu Zhiding (1647–1716). *Portrait of Singde*, before 1685. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 23 3/4 × 14 3/4 in. (59.5 × 36.4 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing

and the prefectural offices in Jiangnan in order to invite Mr. Wang to the capital.²⁰⁶

From this report, it is clear that Singde encountered Wang Hui's art at the residence of his tutor Xu Qianxue.²⁰⁷ Xu and his younger brothers, Xu Bingyi (1633–1711) and Xu Yuanwen (1634–1691), were renowned for their scholarship and political success. They were called the Three Xus from Kunshan, and collectively they exerted an enormous influence over court politics in the 1680s.²⁰⁸ Xu Qianxue's political success began with his appointment as director of the *Ming History* project, for which he recruited many Chinese scholars from the south who later became members of his faction. When Singde invited Wang Hui to the capital in 1685, Xu Qianxue was the most influential Chinese official at court, and it was through Xu that the artist met a number of important patrons, all of whom belonged to the Xu Qianxue–Mingju political faction, which was then at the apex of its power.

Given this enormously favorable situation, Wang Hui arrived in the capital hoping to find a prestigious position in the Beijing art world, one in which painting and politics were closely intertwined. In fact, his stay proved to be short, because Singde suddenly died shortly before his arrival. Singde's invitation did lead, however, to Wang Hui's forging connections with several powerful court officials, who were to



Fig. 69. Unidentified artist. Copy after Wang Hui's *Midautumn Eve*, dated 1686. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 22 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 16 in. (56.9 x 40.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of John M. Crawford Jr., 1988 (1989.363.143)



Fig. 70. Wang Hui (1632–1717). *In a Wutong Grove on an Early Autumn Evening*, dated 1686. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 30 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (76.8 x 41 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing



Fig. 71. Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Travelers amid Streams and Mountains*, after Fan Kuan (detail), dated 1688. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. x 20 ft. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (30.1 x 626 cm). Location unknown, formerly Palace Museum, Beijing

become major patrons. In fact, Wang Hui's time in Beijing fundamentally altered his life and art, eventually propelling him to the status of a nationally established artist. The contacts he made there directly influenced his being imperially favored several years later with the commission to create a grand pictorial record of the emperor's 1689 Southern Inspection Tour. The high officials who supported Wang Hui during his stay in Beijing are

well documented in an account by Grand Secretary Wang Xi (1628–1703):

Shigu's [Wang Hui's] method of painting was renowned throughout the world. Thus, Yongruo, Secretary Cheng [Singde], recognized Shigu's reputation and cordially invited him to come to the capital. He sent letters to the prefectural offices along the Yellow and Yangzi Rivers and asked them to make Shigu's travel to the capital easy and convenient. When

Shigu arrived, he found that Secretary Cheng had just passed away. Shigu cried in deep grief and decided to whip [his] horse back and immediately return home. My fellow officials, the grand secretary from Hanyang [Wu Zhengzhi, 1618–1691], the minister of war from Zhending [Liang Qingbiao], and the subchancellor in the Grand Secretariat from Kunshan [Xu Qianxue] all made efforts to keep Shigu in the capital. They felt, however, that it was impossible to do so [because he insisted upon returning to the south]. They all thought highly of his noble personality and moral virtues and composed laudatory poems for him to take home. Recently, Hanyang [Wu Zhengzhi] ceremoniously bid farewell to Shigu at a party. I wrote this as a promise of “trimming the candlewick together by the west window” in anticipation of seeing him again in the future.²⁰⁹

The men who welcomed Wang Hui to the capital were some of the most influential officials at the court. Wang Xi, a *jinshi* of 1647, rose to the position of grand secretary in 1682 and remained a powerful figure at court until his retirement in 1701.²¹⁰ But it was the southerner Xu Qianxue whose acquaintance with Wang Hui predated Wang’s visit to the capital.²¹¹ None of Wang’s paintings for Xu have survived, but the earliest extant record of their acquaintance can be traced back to 1671, when both men attended a party celebrating the seventieth birthday of Tang Yuzhao. Xu composed a laudatory poem for Wang Hui and acclaimed him a true literati painter in the lineage of Wang Wei and Mi Youren. At the end of the poem, Xu praised Wang as an emerging cultural luminary, likening him to “the Southern Pole Star shining through the dark night.”²¹² When Xu helped Wang Hui to come to Beijing on Singde’s request, their friendship entered its most significant period. Wang Hui’s brilliant emergence into the Beijing art world was closely related to Xu Qianxue’s support.

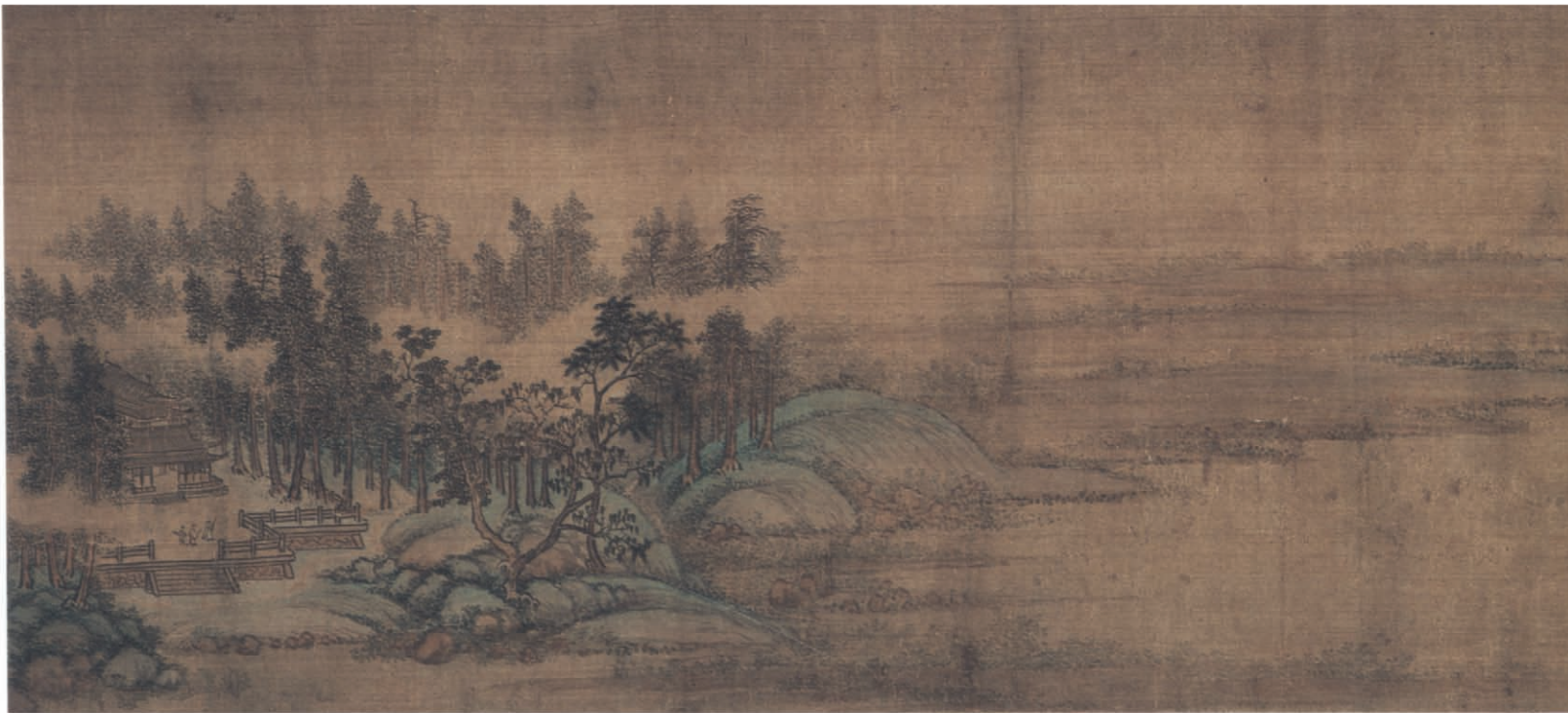
Midautumn Eve, dated 1686, a copy of which is now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 69), serves to highlight Wang Hui’s relationship with Xu Qianxue subsequent to 1685. After he returned to Yushan from Beijing, Wang Hui often visited Xu Qianxue’s family estate at Kunshan. In the seventh lunar month of 1686, Wang and Yun Shouping went to Kunshan and stayed at the Jade Peak Garden (Yufeng Yuanchi), part of the Northern Garden (Yufeng Beiyuan) of the Xu family.²¹³ While drinking wine in the shade of a wutong tree grove, Wang and Yun did ink plays and discussed painting. Wang Hui’s *In a Wutong Grove on an Early Autumn Evening*, dated 1686 (fig. 70), is perhaps one of these ink plays and has a long inscription by Yun Shouping telling of the two artists’ leisurely activities in Kunshan.

Midautumn Eve is directly related to Wang and Yun’s second visit to the Xu family garden around the middle of the ninth lunar month.²¹⁴ Zhang Yunzhang (1648–1726), Gu Zuyu, and others joined them at a gathering in the Northern Garden to celebrate the midautumn festival.²¹⁵ To commemorate the occasion, the guests composed poems and paintings under the cinnamon trees in the bright moonlight. Yun Shouping painted *Looking at the Cinnamon Trees in the Northern Garden* (location unknown) for Xu Qianxue’s second son, Xu Jiong (*jinshi*, 1682), who later became the intendant of the Dongzhou-Yongping Circuit in Zhili (1715–16).²¹⁶ Wang painted *Midautumn Eve* shortly after this event took place. In his inscription, he mentioned that he watched the full moon with Yun Shouping at the Jade Peak on the fourteenth of the ninth lunar month. Both then remembered Zhang Yunzhang, for whom Yun composed a poem and Wang painted a landscape. The painting, a landscape largely based on the styles of Huang Gongwang and Ni Zan, helps document Wang’s close ties to the Xu family.

During his stay at the Northern Garden in the fall of 1686, Wang Hui made a copy for the Xu family of Huang Gongwang’s *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* that is now in the Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang.²¹⁷ According to Xu Zhongling, the opening section of Wang Hui’s replica was lost; only the middle and end sections of the scroll and the colophons by Wang Shu (1668–1743) and Ruan Yuan (1764–1849) have survived.²¹⁸ In his inscription, Wang Hui mentioned when he made the copy and that he was then staying in a pavilion near a pond at the Jade Peak Garden.²¹⁹ The artist’s intimate association with the Xu family is further evidenced by his *Travelers amid Streams and Mountains, after Fan Kuan* (fig. 71), a handscroll executed while escaping the summer heat at the Northern Garden of the Jade Peak in 1688, when Xu Qianxue was at the height of his power. The masterwork that inspired this scroll was then in the collection of Liang Qingbiao (see fig. 16) and had been copied years earlier by Wang Hui (see pl. 7). Wang’s frequent visits to the Xu family estate were perhaps part of his efforts to use Xu Qianxue’s power to gain imperial favor, and he would, in fact, be summoned to the court three years later.

THE WU BROTHERS

During the 1680s, Wang Hui produced a number of long panoramic landscape handscrolls that were crucial to his being chosen in 1691 to direct the creation of the *Kangxi Emperor’s Southern Inspection Tour*.²²⁰ *Gathered Peaks in Spring Dew*, dated 1680

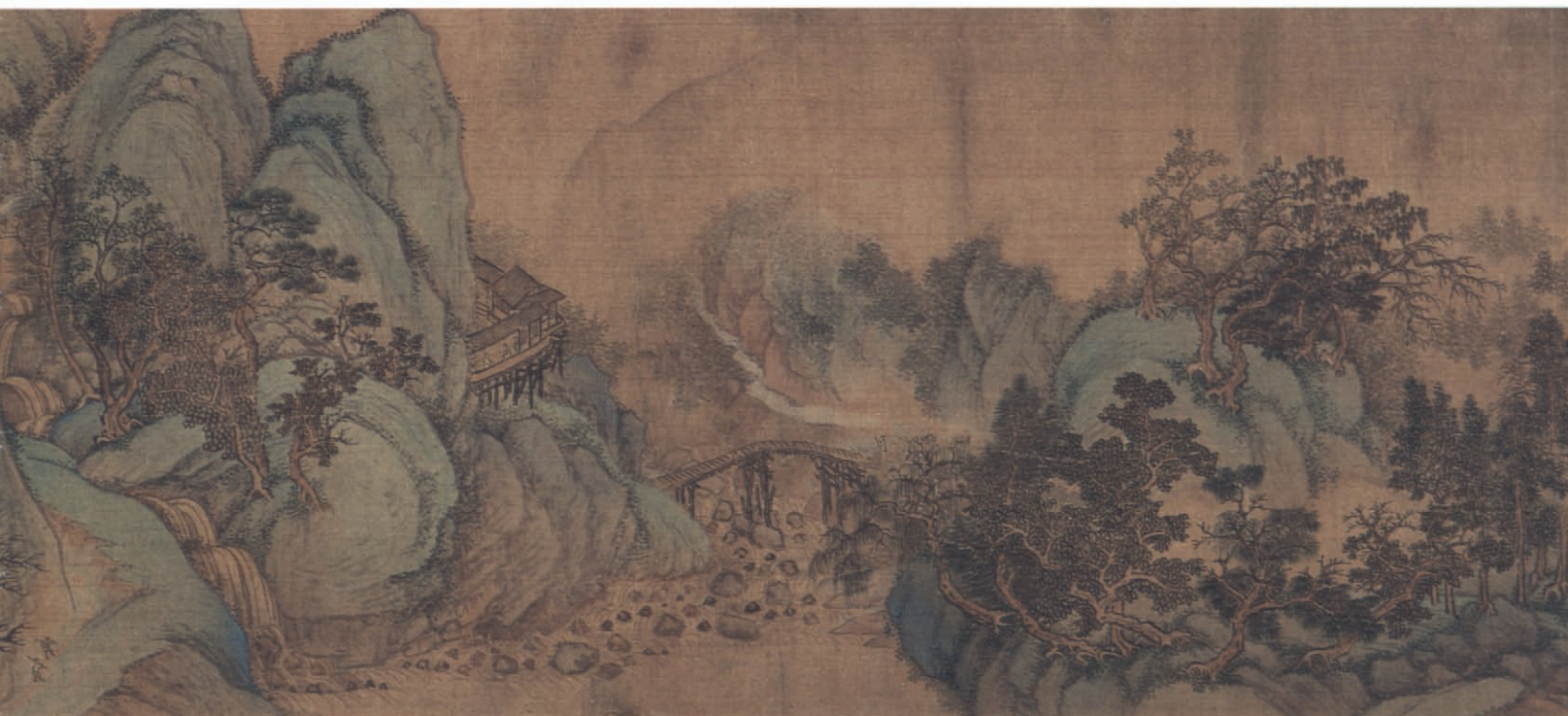


Pl. 43A (cat. 18). Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Gathered Peaks in Spring Dew*, dated 1680. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 10 ¼ in. × 14 ft. 8 ⅞ in. (26 × 449.2 cm). Shanghai Museum

(pl. 43A,B), is an important example of Wang's early experiments with the handscroll format for making landscape panoramas. This masterfully painted blue-and-green landscape after Zhao Mengfu presents a great range of massive mountains and piled boulders in a long lateral composition. The opening section, showing two boatmen fishing on a vast mist-filled river lined with willows, strongly recalls Zhao's *Autumn Colors on the Qiao and Hua Mountains* (see fig. 7). Zhao's influence is also apparent in the spectacular level-distance view of broad lowlands

silhouetted against an endless expanse of water. A long range of verdant mountain peaks and craggy boulders emerging from and receding behind wafting clouds and mists follows this opening section.

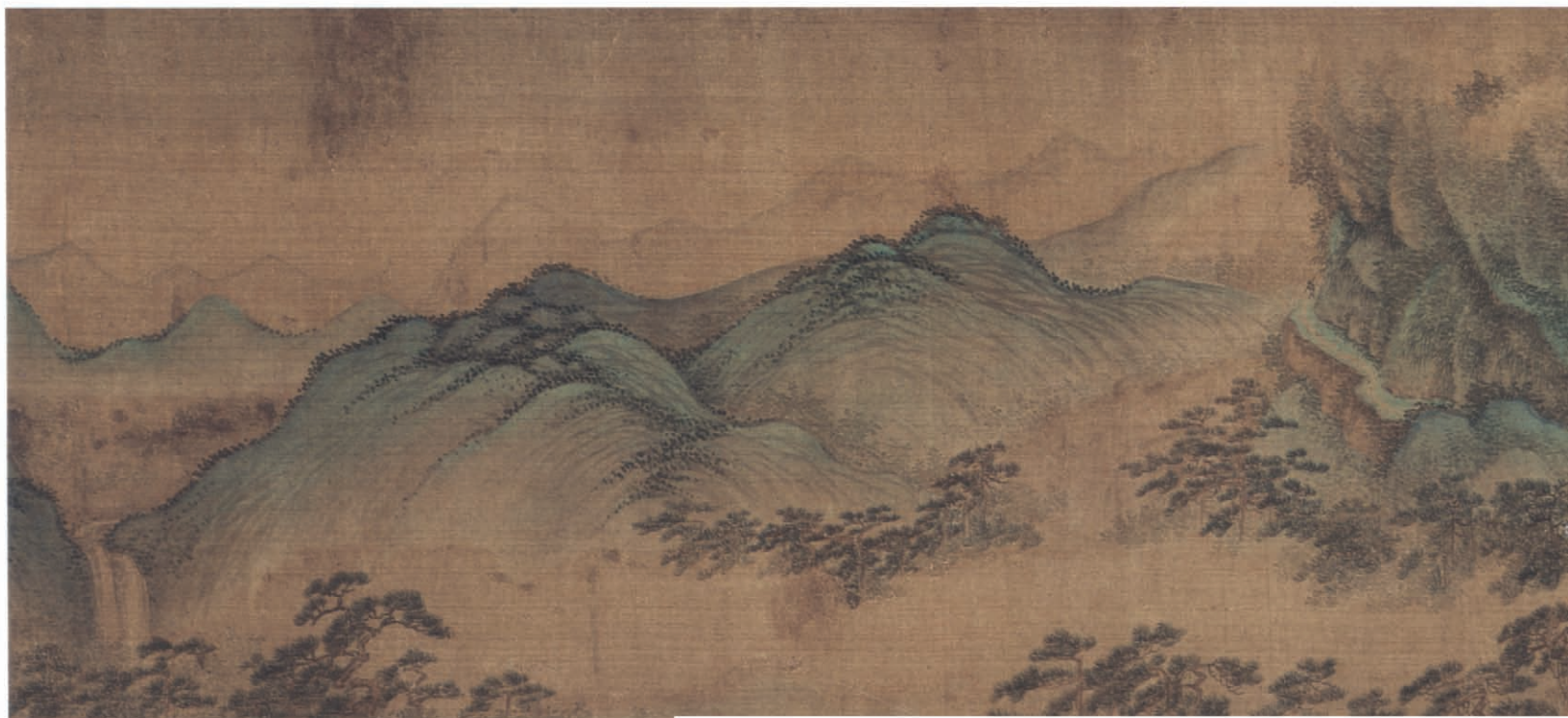
Wang Hui's pictorial craftsmanship is clearly demonstrated throughout the scroll. The composition is monumental in conception, yet the landscape elements are described in fine detail. The brushwork is consistent and confident. Hemp-fiber texture strokes, raindrop stippling, and moss dots combine to model the mountains and rocks. The figures and



buildings, interspersed throughout and depicted with care, add human interest. Shades of blue and green are expertly employed to capture subtle atmospheric effects and evoke a seasonal mood. In sum, Wang Hui has successfully accommodated towering peaks and thrusting rocks into a horizontal format, presenting a panoramic landscape in which the rugged terrain twists and turns in a constantly rising-and-falling “dragon vein.” The effective use of shifting viewpoints further enriches this visually compelling landscape. Wang Hui’s strategy of “sweeping ten-thousand miles

into a square foot” by assimilating high mountain-scapes into a long continuous composition became the foundation of his landscape panoramas.

Wang Hui’s development of his long landscape handscrolls was greatly facilitated by the support he received from two high officials in Beijing, the brothers Wu Zhengzhi (1618–1691) and Wu Kaizhi (active 1680–90). All accounts of the artist’s arrival in Beijing in 1685 mention Wu Zhengzhi, the “grand secretary from Hanyang,” as one of his most enthusiastic supporters. Wang Xi himself states that Wu had



Pl. 43B (cat. 18). Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Gathered Peaks in Spring Dew*, dated 1680

been an old friend of Wang Hui, while Xu Shugu also mentions Wu's long-standing friendship with Wang.²²¹ One of the most powerful Chinese court officials of the time,²²² Wu Zhengzhi obtained his *jinshi* degree in 1648 and became the president of the Censorate in 1660. Like his fellow Chinese officials Wang Xi, Feng Pu (1609–1692), Huang Ji (d. 1686), and Du Lide (1611–1691), all of whom became grand secretaries in the early 1680s, Wu Zhengzhi was one of the emperor's favorites.²²³ He was promoted to a grand secretary of the Wuying Palace in 1681 and

participated in various imperial publication projects such as the *Chronicles of Nurhaci* (*Qing Taizu Gao Huangdi shilu*) and the *Collected Statutes of the Great Qing Dynasty* (*Da Qing huidian*).²²⁴ He remained at the center of power until his death in 1691.

In a poem written about 1685, Wu Zhengzhi mentioned his personal relationship with Wang Hui:

My friendship with Wang Shigu [Wang Hui] has lasted for a long time. . . . In the past, when Shigu came to the capital [Beijing] at the invitation of Cheng [Singde], I was happy to



provide a gathering for celebrating his arrival. . . . I was really sorry that he stayed only a few days in the capital and had to return home. [When he was about to leave] many officials and I strongly urged him to stay longer, but he refused to do so. His insistence on principled behavior is beyond the reach of ordinary people. If Nalan [Singde] had been alive, he would have told Shigu not to feel responsible for honoring Singde's memory in this way.²²⁵

In a letter, Wu expressed his extreme affection for painting and calligraphy and evaluated Wang's

artistic excellence as far above that of Shen Zhou or Wang Shimin.²²⁶

It is clear from the 1685 poem that Wu Zhengzhi and Wang Hui had established close relations before the latter's arrival in Beijing. Interestingly, the earliest record of Wang's association with Wu is found in a letter from the renowned Nanjing painter Gong Xian (1619–1689) to Wang Hui, datable to 1681.²²⁷ This letter, in which Gong requested that Wang paint a landscape depicting his Half-Acre Garden (Banmu Yuan), was sent through "Grand Secretary Wu [Wu



Fig. 72. Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Landscape after Yan Wengui's "Multiple Peaks of Mount Wuyi,"* dated 1684. Handscroll, ink on paper, 15 1/2 in. × 9 ft. 6 1/2 in. (39.8 × 290.8 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing

Fig. 73. Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Panoramic Views of Mountains and Rivers* (detail), dated 1684. Handscroll, ink and light color on paper, 19 7/8 in. × 51 ft. 5 in. (50.5 cm × 15.7 m). Tokyo National Museum

Zhengzhi].”²²⁸ After receiving the painting, Gong subsequently wrote a letter of gratitude to Wang.²²⁹ This episode suggests that Wang Hui and Wu Zhengzhi were already acquainted by 1681.

Wu Zhengzhi's younger brother Wu Kaizhi became Wang Hui's major patron in the mid-1680s.²³⁰ Little is known of Wu Kaizhi's life, but two of his letters to Wang Hui have survived, and his seals appear on several of Wang's landscapes.²³¹ In one letter, Wu Kaizhi expressed his appreciation for Wang Hui's paintings, which had become his “family treasures” (*jiacang zhibao*).²³² Probably in the summer of 1684, Wu Zhengzhi asked the painter for a copy of Zhao Mengfu's *Autumn Colors on the Qiao and Hua Mountains* and another of a detailed painting (*xibua*) by Yan Wengui, as well as for one or two smaller hanging scrolls.²³³ Wu Kaizhi soon followed with his own requests for paintings. From the seventh to the tenth lunar month of 1684, Wang executed four landscape handscrolls for him, three of which have survived: *Landscape after Yan Wengui's "Multiple Peaks of Mount Wuyi"* (fig. 72), *Panoramic Views of Mountains and Rivers*, a scroll more than fifty-one feet (almost sixteen meters) long (fig. 73), and *Enjoyment of Life*, a painting inspired by the “Essay on the Enjoyment of Life” written by Zhongchang Tong (active ca. 180–ca. 220),

which touches on the joys experienced by a Daoist recluse-farmer.²³⁴ Yet another landscape panorama made for Wu Kaizhi and datable to approximately the same time is *Mountains and Rivers Clearing after Snow, in the Style of Li Cheng* (fig. 74).

Up to this time, most of Wang Hui's handscrolls were less than twenty-six feet (eight meters) long, but with these commissions from the Wu brothers he began to paint on a larger scale. The culmination of this new interest is represented by *Layered Rivers and Tiered Peaks* (see pl. 44A,B), a landscape panorama more than sixty-one feet (eighteen meters) long commissioned by Wu Zhengzhi in the summer of 1684, which is almost nine times as long as such earlier scrolls as *The Colors of Mount Taihang* (see pl. 39A,B). This remarkable change reveals much about Wang's ambition to create scrolls capable of illustrating one of the Kangxi emperor's tours.

In these scrolls, Wang Hui was aiming to revive the magnificent Five Dynasties and Northern Song landscape styles of Li Cheng, Fan Kuan, Juran, and Yan Wengui. His reinterpretations of these ancient masters, which explored all-embracing visions of mountains and rivers, came to define the distinctive character of his landscape art. Crucial to this effort was Wang Hui's rediscovery of the inexhaustible potential of



the handscroll format, as embodied in Five Dynasties and Northern Song examples,²³⁵ particularly those of Yan Wengui, the patriarch of the landscape tradition known as “mountains and rivers without end.”²³⁶

Wang’s ambitious revival of Yan’s panoramic landscape style arose in response to increased demand for such works. From the 1680s on, collectors showed a renewed interest in works by or after Yan Wengui. Wu Zhengzhi, for example, wrote Wang to ask him for a picture after a painting by Yan Wengui.²³⁷ Wu also possessed *Multiple Peaks of Mount Wuyi*, a now-lost painting attributed to Yan, on which Wang Hui based his *Landscape after Yan Wengui’s “Multiple Peaks of Mount Wuyi,”* made for Wu Kaizhi (see fig. 72). Wang Hongxu (1645–1723), one of the highest officials at court, also asked Wang Hui to appraise the Yan Wengui landscape that had come into his possession. In a letter asking Wang Hui to produce a replica of Huang Gongwang’s *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*, Wang Hongxu made detailed inquiries about the authenticity and quality of the Yan Wengui landscape.²³⁸ Xu Shugu also expressed his gratitude to Wang Hui for having given him a genuine painting by Yan Wengui.²³⁹

The growing interest among collectors in Yan Wengui and Yan Wengui-style landscapes is of great

significance in understanding why Wang Hui began to paint numerous landscapes derived from the classical genre of “mountains and rivers without end.” Wang’s long handscrolls reflect that he was keenly aware of changing tastes and collecting patterns as well as of his patrons’ expectations. The noted collector Liang Qingbiao, one of Wang’s supporters in Beijing, possessed some of the most famous landscape panoramas related to Yan Wengui, including *Summer Mountains*, attributed to his follower Qu Ding (fig. 75), and *Streams and Mountains without End* (fig. 76), by an anonymous artist clearly influenced by him.²⁴⁰ Wang Hui could have seen these two monuments of early panoramic landscape while staying in Beijing in 1685. When Liang received a landscape from Wang in the combined styles of several Northern Song masters, he praised Wang’s ability to achieve a synthesis of various painting methods. Unfortunately, Liang’s letter to Wang is the only surviving evidence detailing the relationship between the two.²⁴¹

Wang Hui’s enterprise of making long scrolls for the Wu brothers, largely inspired by Yan Wengui and the “mountains and rivers without end” genre, not only established him as a master of panoramic landscapes but also contributed significantly to his gaining imperial sponsorship and becoming the most

Fig. 74. Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Mountains and Rivers Clearing after Snow, in the Style of Li Cheng* (detail). Handscroll, ink and light color on silk, 11 ¼ × 26 ft. 2 ¾ in. (29.9 × 799.5 cm). Osaka Municipal Museum of Art



Fig. 75. Attributed to Qu Ding (active ca. 1023–ca. 1056). *Summer Mountains*. Handscroll, ink and light color on silk, 17 $\frac{7}{8}$ $\times$ 45 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (45.3 $\times$ 115.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Ex coll.: C. C. Wang Family, Gift of The Dillon Fund, 1973 (1973.120.1)

Fig. 76. Unidentified artist. *Streams and Mountains without End*, ca. 1101–50. Handscroll, ink and light color on silk, 13 $\frac{7}{8}$ $\times$ 83 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (35.1 $\times$ 213 cm). The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of the Hanna Fund, 1953.126

celebrated painter at the court. When he arrived in Beijing in 1685, Wang seems to have taken advantage of his friendships with Wu Zhengzhi, a powerful official with regular access to the emperor, as well as with Wang Xi, Xu Qianxue, and Liang Qingbiao. Just as the emperor returned from his first tour of the south, Wang Hui gained entrée into the political world of the capital and made his reputation.

About 1684, Wu Zhengzhi sent a letter and a poem to Wang Hui, who was then staying in Nanjing, mentioning how much he appreciated Wang's painting *Teaching the "Book of Changes" in the Autumn Forest* (location unknown), executed for him in the previous year. He further complimented Wang Hui as a painting hermit (*huiyin*). In the letter, Wu suggested obliquely that Wang make another painting for him:

This year's summer in the capital is too swelteringly hot. My younger brother Pingyu [Wu Kaizhi] sent me a letter and said that it was really hot in the south as well. I thought it was not [as hot as here]. Someone, however, read my mind.

I said, "I heard recently that Old Man Wang Shigu [Wang Hui] had whiled away the summer in a small studio in Moling [Nanjing] and treated guests and friends with his paintings day and night. How could it be thus impossible for him to forget the summer heat?" I playfully wrote a prose poem and am now sending it to you.²⁴²

Layered Rivers and Tiered Peaks (pl. 44A,B) may well have been the landscape that Wu Zhengzhi received in response to his letter. Except for the seals of the Qianlong emperor (r. 1736–95) and the painter, the work bears only two others: "Painting and Calligraphy Seal of Master Wu from Hanyang" (*Hanyang Wu shi cang shuhua yinji*) and "Master Wu from Hanyang" (*Hanyang Wu shi*), which almost certainly belong to Wu Zhengzhi.²⁴³ Furthermore, Wang Hui's inscription states that he painted the scroll near the Qinhuai River in Nanjing during the summer of 1684.

The most ambitious of Wang Hui's landscape panoramas, *Layered Rivers and Tiered Peaks* was acclaimed by the Qianlong emperor as "the finest handscroll



of our dynasty and Wang Hui's finest."²⁴⁴ No other landscape panorama by Wang is comparable in either length or complexity. In his inscription, the artist mentions that, in creating the scroll, he imitated Juran's brushwork and consulted the styles of Fan Kuan and Yan Wengui. He further states that "I painted for three [lunar] months to complete it. In the past, Yifeng Daoren [Huang Gongwang] painted a handscroll of the Fuchun Mountains. In his inscription he said it took him seven years to complete. But I have done this in a perfunctory manner, and it goes without saying that my brushwork and ink are far inferior. I write this to express my shame."²⁴⁵ Despite his disingenuous expression of regret, Wang Hui actually reveals his pride in making this enormous handscroll in such a short period. And his comparison of the work to Huang Gongwang's masterpiece further implies that he had reached the same level of artistic excellence as that fourteenth-century master.

In *Layered Rivers and Tiered Peaks*, Wang Hui references the styles of Juran, Fan Kuan, and Yan Wengui to create a panoramic landscape in which myriad mountains and far-reaching rivers are encompassed in a continuous composition. The brushwork is rich and extravagant, while intricate pictorial effects are achieved through a combination of various texture patterns and brush styles. The constant alternation of mountainscapes and riverscapes, openings-and-closings, solids and voids results in an organically complex composition. Although Wang Hui employed the brush manners of Fan Kuan and Juran, his ultimate source of inspiration here is the miniaturist style of Yan Wengui, which is clearly echoed in the opening and closing sections, with their craggy mountains set off against a broad river.²⁴⁶ *Layered Rivers and Tiered Peaks* marked a significant moment in Wang Hui's synthesis of Five Dynasties and early Northern Song

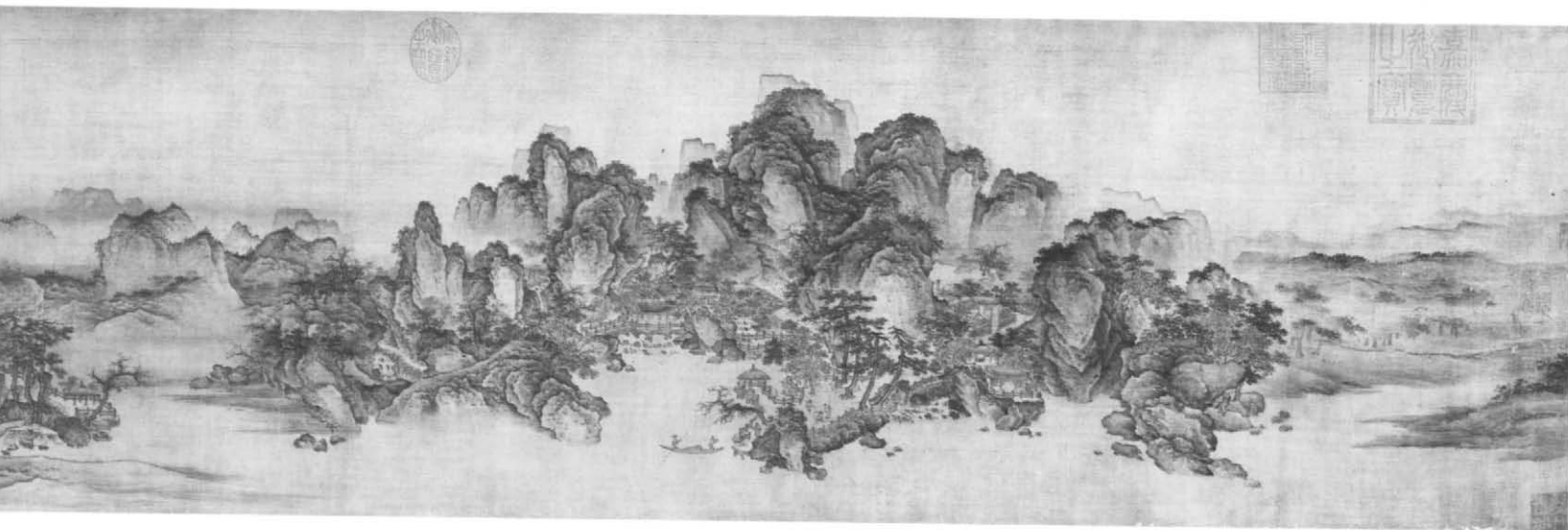
styles and demonstrates his mastery of the "mountains and rivers without end" genre.

"LANDSCAPES CLEAR AND RADIANT"

Wang Hui's close contacts during the mid-1680s with such distinguished court officials as Xu Qianxue, Liang Qingbiao, and Wu Zhengzhi undoubtedly led to his selection to depict the Kangxi emperor's second Southern Inspection Tour of 1689. Although some of his enthusiastic supporters had died by the time he returned to Beijing in 1691, there were still many other high officials to help him advance at court. The early-twentieth-century critic Pei Jingfu provides an interesting account of how Wang was called to the court in 1691 and who assisted him in receiving imperial favor:

In the thirtieth year [xinwei year] of the Kangxi reign [1691], Wang Hui arrived in the capital. Grand Mentor Mingju and the chancellor of the Hanlin Academy Gao Shiqi successively submitted memorials to the emperor, recounting Wang Hui's supreme ability as a painter, which surpassed even that of the great masters of the past. Thus, he was capable of work that would depict the emperor's great achievements. When Wang Hui was called to the Endeavor and Diligence Hall [Maoqin Dian] and dedicated his paintings to the emperor, he received imperial compliments. Song Muzhong [Song Luo], in a poem on a painting entitled Nine Friends in Painting, observed that "Wang Hui, his hair already gray, spent several years respectfully serving the imperial order." Yuyang [Wang Shizhen] composed a poem, "Song for Wumu Shanren [Wang Hui]," stating that "he heard once again the emperor's summons to the Great Unity [Datong] Hall."²⁴⁷

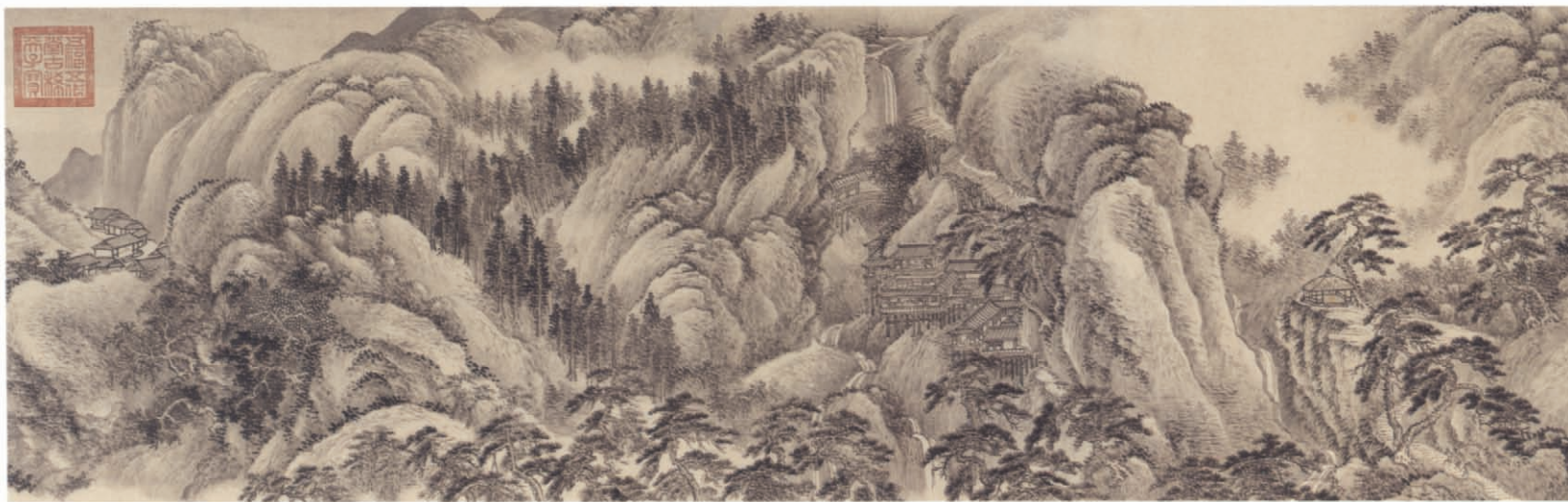
According to this record, both Mingju, Singde's father and a friend of Wu Zhengzhi, and Gao Shiqi, then a political ally of Xu Qianxue, recommended Wang Hui to be the artist-in-charge of painting *The*



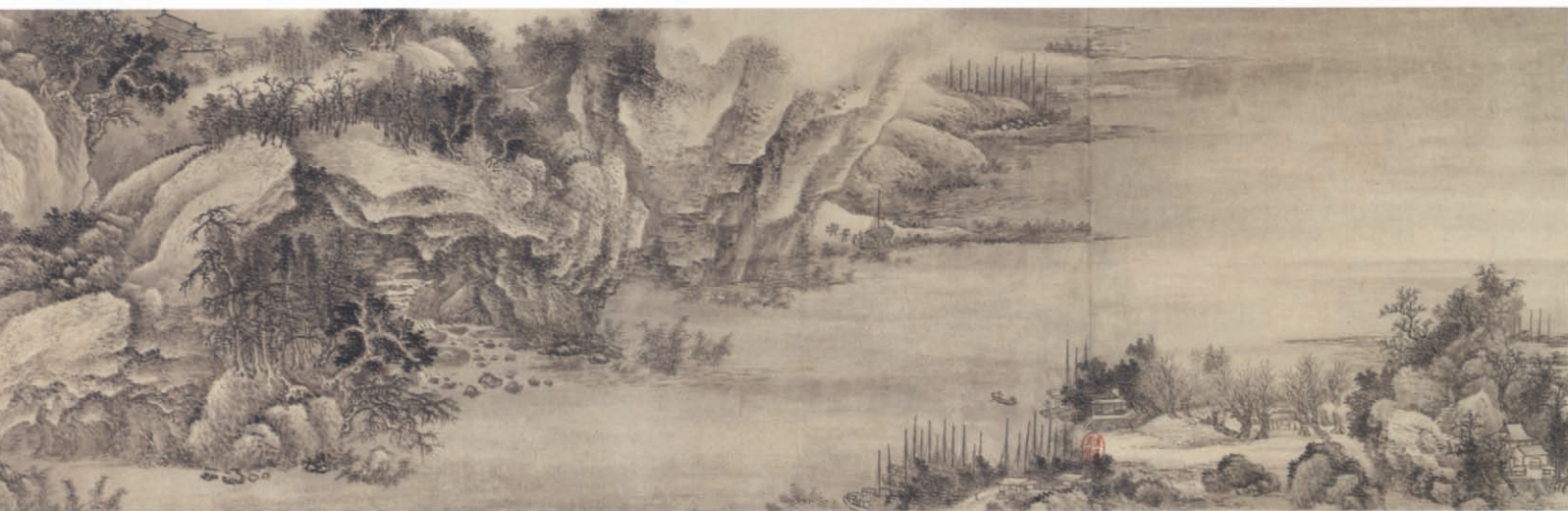


Pl. 44A (cat. 19). Wang Hui (1632–1717).
Layered Rivers and Tiered Peaks, dated 1684.
 Handscroll, ink and color on paper,
 20 1/8 in. × 61 ft. 6 1/4 in. (51.1 cm × 18.7 m).
 Shanghai Museum





Pl. 44B (cat. 19). Wang Hui (1632–1717).
Layered Rivers and Tiered Peaks, dated 1684





Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour. While the reliability of Pei's early-twentieth-century account has yet to be determined, it does suggest how Wang Hui may have enjoyed the strong support of influential figures at court.

After the second Southern Inspection Tour in 1689, the Kangxi emperor agreed to the creation of a comprehensive pictorial record of his journey in order to announce that his reign had achieved prosperity and a "broad peace" (*guangping*). According to Tang Sunhua (1634–1723), no one dared to undertake this enormous task except Song Junye (ca. 1662–1713), who confidently indicated to the emperor that under his leadership the painting project would be successfully completed.²⁴⁸ As director-in-charge, Song not only oversaw the entire process of the scrolls' production but also selected Wang Hui and other painters to execute it.²⁴⁹ Song's central administrative role is

Pl. 45 (cat. 21). Wang Hui (1632–1717). *A Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines*, dated 1693. Hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper, 100 × 40 ½ in. (254.1 × 103 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei

Fig. 77. Unidentified artist, formerly attributed to Jing Hao (active ca. 870–ca. 930). *Mount Kuanglu*, late 12th–early 13th century (?). Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 73 ⅞ × 42 in. (185.8 × 106.8 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei





confirmed by various contemporary accounts.²⁵⁰ Wang Hui made it clear that it was Song who invited him to the capital as the master painter; Tang Sunhua and Chen Jianlong (active second half seventeenth century) further verified this fact.²⁵¹

Wang Hui moved to the capital in early 1691 to begin work on the scrolls (see pls. 47–57).²⁵² His choice by the court was definitely predicated upon his prior experience with long landscape panoramas. In fact, at the time, he was the only painter with the ability to accomplish such a monumental task. Wang Hui's reception in Beijing, during the years of the *Southern Inspection Tour* (1691–98), gave a new direction to his life. He himself regarded the completion of the scrolls as the pinnacle of his success, the ultimate that a commoner (*buyi*, literally, non-degree holder) could expect to achieve.²⁵³

Wang Hui put all his considerable painting skills, artistic ambitions, knowledge of painting history, and views of current politics into this large-scale project.



In order to enhance the image of the Kangxi emperor, the *Southern Inspection Tour* highlights images of political stability and economic affluence against a background of monumental landscapes portrayed in rich geographical detail. The emperor and his entourage, escorted by the imperial bodyguard, are shown processing through various regions of the empire, starting from Beijing and going on to such thriving southern cities as Suzhou and Nanjing. Every figure and landscape is carefully chosen to represent the age of “grand peace” (*taiping*) that Kangxi had established after the tumultuous years of dynastic transition.²⁵⁴

It is no coincidence that the *Southern Inspection Tour* was considered an “image of grand peace” or an “image of all under heaven” by Wang Hui's contemporaries.²⁵⁵ Xu Shixiao (active second half seventeenth century), a native of Yushan and a friend of the artist, compared Kangxi's Southern Tour to the great achievements of the legendary ancient sage-rulers Yao and Shun. According to Xu, the *Southern Inspection Tour*, filled

Fig. 78. Unidentified artist, formerly attributed to Guan Tong (active ca. 907–23). *Travelers at the Mountain Pass*, ca. 1050. Hanging scroll, ink and light color on silk, 56 7/8 × 22 1/2 in. (144.4 × 56.8 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei

Fig. 79. Unidentified artist. *Landscape in the Style of Fan Kuan*, early 12th century. Hanging scroll, ink and light color on silk, 65 1/4 × 40 7/8 in. (165.8 × 103.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Irene and Earl Morse, 1956 (56.151)



Pl. 46 (cat. 22). Wang Hui (1632–1717). *Spring Morning at Swallow Cliff*, ca. 1690–1700. Handscroll, ink and light color on silk, 15½ × 79¼ in. (39.4 × 201.3 cm). Joseph A. Skinner Museum, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts



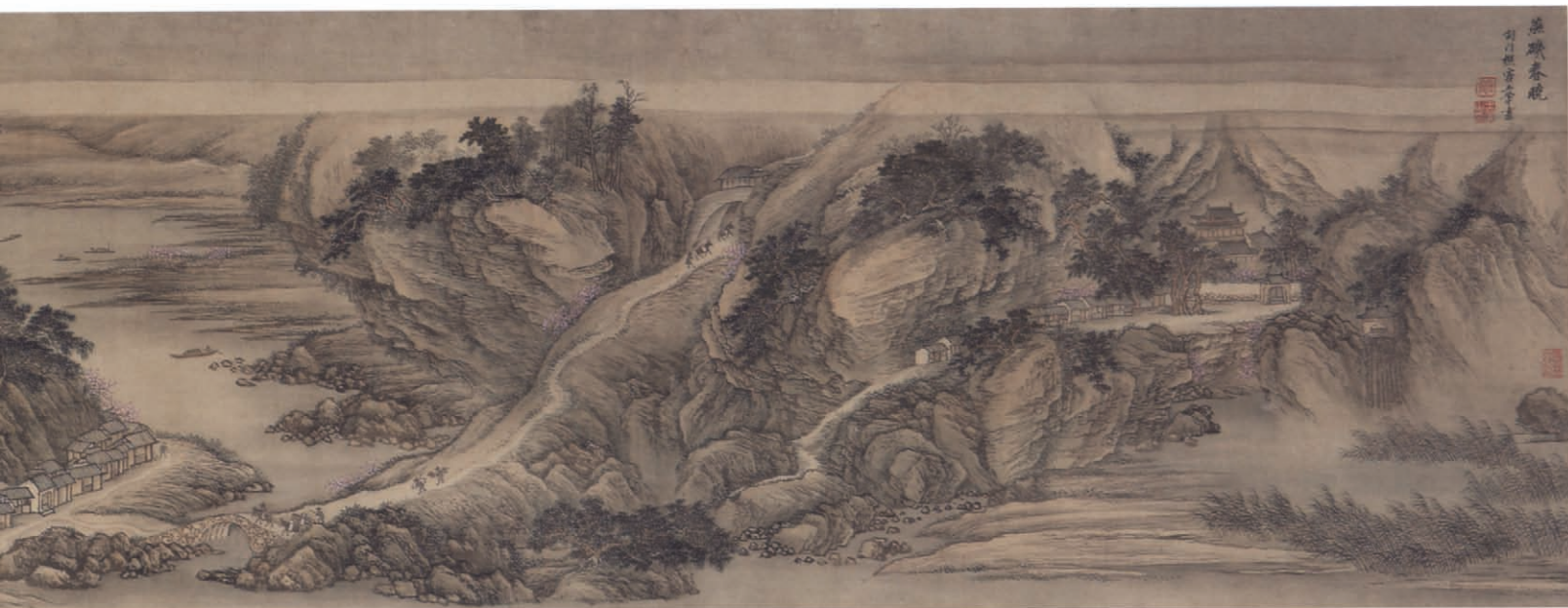
Fig. 80. Fan Qi (1616–after 1694). *Swallow Cliff*, from *Landscapes*, dated 1646. Leaf H in an album of eight paintings, ink and color on paper, 6¾ × 8 in. (16.8 × 20.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Sackler Fund, 1969 (69.242.8–15)



Fig. 81. Wang Hui (1632–1717) and assistants. *Swallow Cliff*, from *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour, Scroll Eleven: Navigating the Yangzi; Nanjing to Zhenjiang*, datable to 1698. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 26¾ in. × 75 ft. 9½ in. (67.8 cm × 23.1 m). Palace Museum, Beijing



Fig. 82. Wu Hong (active ca. 1637–83). *Swallow Cliff*. The first of a set of two handscrolls, ink and color on paper, each 12½ × 59 in. (30.8 × 150 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing



with images of “grand normality” (*taichang*), represented Kangxi’s pacification and reintegration of the empire after the social fragmentation of dynastic change.²⁵⁶ Wang Hui, aware of Kangxi’s political vision for the empire, presented a grand pictorial narrative of the peace and prosperity that resonated with Kangxi’s vision of a world of “Great Unity under the Qing dynasty” (*Da Qing yitong*).²⁵⁷

The pacifying and unifying aims of the *Southern Inspection Tour* are also implied in the commendation that Kangxi bestowed upon Wang Hui when Wang was about to return home in 1698. In a personal audience, Kangxi gave him the title *Landscapes Clear and Radiant* (*Shanshui Qinghui*), presumably not only to honor what Wang Hui had accomplished in the scrolls²⁵⁸ but also to signify the enduring peace and prosperity of the Qing dynasty. These words,

taken from a poem by Xie Lingyun (385–433) entitled “Written on the Lake on My Way Back to the Retreat at Stone Cliff,”²⁵⁹ evoke images associated with monumental landscapes glittering in blue and gold. As Tokura Hidemi has suggested, they conjure up the type of large screen painting with multiple panels depicting towering mountains and numerous peaks that rise and fall along a vast expanse of water.²⁶⁰ Wang Hui seems to have consciously revived this tradition in his extensive use of the blue-and-green color scheme in the *Southern Inspection Tour*. In Scroll Three, for example, the myriad peaks painted in Fan Kuan–inspired raindrop strokes and in deep blue-and-green colors culminate in a vision of the sacred Mount Tai, where emperors had traditionally offered the Feng and Shan sacrifices to demonstrate their possession of Heaven’s Mandate (see pl. 51).

While directing the painting of the *Southern Inspection Tour*, Wang Hui also produced some impressive landscapes, including *A Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines*, dated 1693 (pl. 45). In this tall hanging scroll, the grand vision of “landscapes clear and radiant” is once again dramatically presented. Wang Hui employs the pictorial idioms of Juran, Huang Gongwang, and Wang Meng to describe the splendors of towering mountains stacked in parallel vertical planes. Rising row upon row from a river valley, the superimposed peaks present a confident image of centrality and dominance. The use of “dragon-vein” movements transforms the monumental mountains into an organically intertwined, large reptilelike mass. The vertical composition is counterbalanced at the right by a rolling panoramic view, filled with a long stretch of water that meanders through the deep valley and overlaps distant peaks wreathed in clouds and mist. Fishermen, wayfarers, temples, pavilions, and mountain villages interject a human presence in this otherwise austere landscape.

The tall peaks rising to fill the vertical picture plane in *A Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines* recall such monuments of Song landscape painting as *Mount Kuanglu* (fig. 77), previously attributed to Jing Hao (active ca. 870–ca. 930), and *Travelers at the Mountain Pass* (fig. 78), formerly attributed to Guan Tong, in which the stacked mountain forms merge into the towering massif at the top of the scroll.²⁶¹ A more direct stylistic source, however, seems to have been *Landscape in the Style of Fan Kuan* (fig. 79), a large hanging scroll by an anonymous early-twelfth-century painter, in which enormous mountains are piled up at the right and a panoramic level-distance view with winding streams and rivers and cloud- and mist-filled peaks fades into the distance at the left. The two works show almost the same composition, developing diagonally from front to back in a continuous sequence and effectively combining vertical and horizontal elements. Interestingly, the foreground of each scroll even has boatmen near the foot of a tree-covered bluff with a pavilion.

A Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines is a powerful evocation of the heroic vision expressed in Song monumental landscapes. In this work, Wang Hui combines his characteristically creative reinterpretation of ancient sources with brilliant imagination and technical virtuosity. The scroll exemplifies his ambition to surpass past masters, in both conception and technique, and to develop further his own style marked by monumental vision and grand scale.

About or shortly after this time, Wang Hui painted *Spring Morning at Swallow Cliff* (pl. 46), a short

handscroll depicting a massive promontory located along the Yangzi River, northwest of Nanjing. One of the most famous scenic sites of the city, in the early Qing period it was included as one of the “Forty-Eight Views of Jinling [Nanjing]” and became a subject for painters and poets.²⁶² The Nanjing painter Fan Qi (1616–after 1694) included a view of Swallow Cliff in an album of eight paintings, dated 1646 (fig. 80).²⁶³ Another Nanjing painter, Wu Hong (active ca. 1637–83), featured the site in a handscroll (see fig. 82) that depicts the topography from Guanyin Gate to Swallow Cliff.²⁶⁴

Wang Hui first painted Swallow Cliff in 1677 in the last section of his *Ten-Thousand Miles of the Yangzi River*, a handscroll that is currently mounted as a suite of twelve hanging scrolls.²⁶⁵ In *Spring Morning at Swallow Cliff*, Wang Hui again presents a panoramic view of the south shore of the Yangzi River extending from the Magnanimous Salvation Temple (Hongji Si) past Guanyin Gate to Swallow Cliff.²⁶⁶ These sites are connected by a sweeping arc of land that draws closest to the foreground at the scroll’s midpoint and then recedes to the final promontory. The scroll ends just beyond this point with a view of water, clouds, and sky, with no horizon line to detract from the sense of a limitless expanse. The landscape is further animated by a sequence of bulging rock formations that are unified into a single serpentine “dragon vein” with a pathway running along its spine. Wang Hui featured a very similar treatment of this landscape in Scroll Eleven of his *Southern Inspection Tour* (fig. 81).

Wang Hui returned home in the fall of 1698 after his audience with Kangxi. He built the Clear and Radiant Hall (Qinghui Tang) to commemorate the honorary title granted him by the emperor and had the characters for “landscapes clear and radiant” carved onto a plaque. He also began to use the style names Clear and Radiant Old Man (Qinghui Laoren) and Master of the Hall of the Clear and Radiant (Qinghui Tang Zhuren) to reflect his status as an imperially acknowledged painter.²⁶⁷

1. The family background is detailed in Liu Yiping 1993, pp. 115–17.
2. Ibid. See also Chen Lüsheng 1996, pp. 2–3.
3. A brief entry on Zhang Ke appears in Jia Lunkui, *Yushan huazhi* (1996 ed.), p. 1012.
4. Ibid.
5. *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, p. 879.
6. Liu Yiping 1993, p. 117.
7. *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, p. 815.
8. For the relationship between Dong Qichang and the formation of the Orthodox School in Taicang, see Cahill 1976b. See also Wicks 1983.

9. Whitfield 1996, p. 842.
10. Wang Shimin, *Wang Fengchang* (1994 ed.), pp. 923–28, 931, 934.
11. The present location of this work is unknown. According to Victoria Contag, the painting was in a private collection in China in the mid-1940s, when she photographed it. For details, see Contag 1970, pp. 33, 49.
12. Tang Yuzhao's letters to Wang Hui appear in *Qinghui Ge zengyi chidu* 1911, chap. 1, pp. 11a–14a.
13. On the *To See Large within Small* album and its authorship, see Wen Fong's discussion in this volume. See also Fong 1984, pp. 177–79; Chang Joseph 1995; and Fong 1996c, pp. 474–76. Another version of this album by Wang Hui, dated 1672 (Shanghai Museum), includes a reduced copy of Wu Zhen's *Mountain Passes on a Clear Autumn Day*.
14. *Qinghui Ge zengyi chidu* 1911, chap. 1, p. 17a.
15. *Zhongguo huibhua quanji* 1997–, vol. 24 (2000), p. 18.
16. *Qinghui Ge zengyi chidu* 1911, chap. 1, p. 10b. Gu Zuyu, who was perhaps the most famous geographer of his day, was a friend of both Wang Hui and Yun Shouping. Among his works was the *Essentials of Historical Geography* (*Dushi fangyu jiyao*), an encyclopedic study of historical, administrative, and natural geography that set the standard for later geographical and cartographical studies. On Gu Zuyu, see "Ku Tsu-yü" by Tu Lien-chê in Hummel 1943–44, pp. 419–20.
17. *Qinghui Ge zengyi chidu* 1911, chap. 1, p. 10b.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Translation adapted from Fong 1996c, p. 482.
21. Fong 1984, pp. 177–78; and *Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang* 1992, vol. 2, p. 134.
22. Fong 1984, p. 179.
23. This album is reproduced in color in *Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang* 1992, vol. 1, pp. 437–48, pl. 164, leaves 1–21.
24. Adapted from Fong 1984, pp. 183–84. For the meaning of "dragon veins," see Bush 1962.
25. Translation from Wicks 1983, p. 272.
26. Wang Shimin, *Wang Fengchang* (1994 ed.), p. 917.
27. Ibid., pp. 915, 923, 926–29.
28. Chang Joseph 1995, pp. 35–37.
29. Ibid., p. 35.
30. Ibid., p. 38. Xiang Xuandu was the fifth son of the prominent late Ming collector Xiang Yuanbian (1525–1590). On Xiang Xuandu, see Zheng Yinshu 1984, pp. 15–16.
31. Fong 1996c, p. 480, pl. 276.
32. *Autumn Mountains* and Wang Shimin's copies of the painting are mentioned in Wang Shimin, *Wang Fengchang* (1994 ed.), pp. 915–16, 926–27.
33. Translation from Wicks 1982, p. 12.
34. For details, see Chang Joseph 1995, pp. 89–90.
35. On Zhang Jinchen, see Riely 1995, p. 90. Zhang Jinchen's collection also included Shen Zhou's *Eastern Villa* (Nanjing Museum) and a copy of *Mist and Rain over Wuzhou*, attributed to Mi Youren (Wan-go H. C. Weng Collection, Lyme, New Hampshire). For the former, see Cahill 1998, p. 184, and no. 196. For the latter, see Sturman 1989, p. 472.
36. Chang Joseph 1995, p. 89.
37. For details, see *ibid.*, p. 90.
38. Quoted in Chang Joseph 1995, p. 89. See Yun Shouping, *Ouxiang Guan ji* (n.d.), *Buyi huaba* (supplementary colophons), p. 13a.
39. Translation after Whitfield 1969, p. 103.
40. Ibid., p. 41; and Fong 1970, pp. 41–42. On the dragon veins, openings-and-closings, and risings-and-fallings, see Bush 1962.
41. Fong 1970, pp. 41–42.
42. Chang Joseph 1995, pp. 37–38.
43. Whitfield 1969, p. 41.
44. Wang Shimin, *Wang Fengchang* (1994 ed.), p. 914; and Wang Jiansheng 2000, pp. 35–37.
45. *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, p. 872. Gu Mei's inscription is not found on *Autumn Forests at Yushan*. It seems to have been written separately to express his gratitude to Wang Hui for the painting.
46. On *Stone Cliff at the Pond of Heaven*, see Cahill 1976a, pp. 90, 111.
47. See Bush 1962, p. 120.
48. Chen Lüsheng 1996, p. 101; *Si Wang Wu Yun huibua* 1996, p. 89.
49. Translation from Fong 1996c, pp. 479, 481.
50. *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, p. 821.
51. *Qinghui Ge zengyi chidu* 1911, vol. 1, p. 6b.
52. Tong 1983, p. 47.
53. For details, see Meng Sen 1980.
54. Dennerline 1981, pp. 323–31; and Oxnam 1975, pp. 101–8.
55. Published in Jiang Chun 1962, p. 313.
56. Ibid.
57. Wang Shimin, *Wang Fengchang* (1994 ed.), p. 931; and Chang Joseph 1995, p. 112.
58. Fong 1996c, p. 482.
59. Chang Joseph 1995, p. 111. See Wang Shimin's "Inscription on My Painting Given to Sir Fang Aixian," in Wang Shimin, *Wang Fengchang* (1994 ed.), p. 931.
60. See Wang Shimin, *Wang Fengchang* (1994 ed.), p. 931.
61. The friendship between Tang Guang and Yun Shouping is discussed in detail in Chung 1983, pp. 20–22. For Tang Guang's flower paintings, see *Zhongguo huibhua quanji* 1997–, vol. 25 (2001), pls. 1–4.
62. Wang Shimin, *Wang Fengchang* (1994 ed.), p. 928.
63. *Si Wang Wu Yun huibua* 1996, p. 256.
64. Kohara 1979, p. 153.
65. Chen Lüsheng 1996, p. 100.
66. For the stylistic features of early landscape painting, see Fong 1984, p. 20.
67. *Zhongguo huibhua quanji* 1997–, vol. 24 (2000), p. 64, pl. 72.
68. *Midian zhulin Shiqu baoji sanbian* (1969 ed.), vol. 5, p. 2140; and Kim 1985, vol. 1, p. 173.
69. The album, which was done for a certain Hanxie, whose identity remains unknown, is reproduced in Xu Bangda and Xue Yongnian 1999, pl. 8.
70. For details, see Xu Zhongling 1995.
71. Ibid., p. 66.
72. Translation from Lovell 1970, p. 218; the full translation of the colophon is found on pp. 217–19.
73. By the mid-1670s, Wang Hui had painted a third copy of *Dwelling* for the Yixing collector Pan Yuanbo (Pan Yuanbai, active ca. 1660–70). For details, see Yun Shouping, *Nantian huaba* (1994 ed.), p. 979.
74. Wu Li saw *Dwelling in the Mountains on a Summer Day* in 1668, when he visited Tang Yuzhao's residence. See Wu Li, *Mojing huaba* (1994 ed.), p. 970.
75. See "Wang Shan" by Fang Chao-ying in Hummel 1943–44, pp. 830–31.
76. Translation from Sirén 1956–58, vol. 5, p. 103.
77. Translation from Kim 1996, pp. 131–32.
78. *Qinghui Ge zengyi chidu* 1911, chap. 1, pp. 11b–12a, 13b. Wang Hui mentioned that he spent several years at Tang's residence and studied the masterworks in the collection. See *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, p. 885.
79. Wang Hui claimed that he had seen as many as one hundred Tang and Song paintings by about 1669. See Wang Hui, *Qinghui huaba* (1974 ed.), p. 315.
80. See letters by Zhang Yingjia and Jiang Chenxi in *Qinghui Ge zengyi chidu* 1911, chap. 1, pp. 19b–20b. Zhang Yingjia paid 200 taels of silver for a replica of Juran's *Mist Floating on a Distant Peak*, while Jian Chenxi offered 12 taels of silver for a Wang Hui painting. Two of Wang Hui's handscrolls are recorded as "purchased at 4 taels" in Gao Shiqi, *Jiangcun shubua mu* (1994 ed.), pp. 1075–76.
81. On Zhou Lianggong, see "Chou Liang-kung" by Fang Chao-ying in Hummel 1943–44, pp. 173–74.
82. For details of Zhou's *Lives of Painters*, see Kim 1996, pp. 113–46.
83. Ibid., p. 121.

84. *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, p. 855. Translation adapted from Kim 1985, vol. 1, p. 199. Qian Qianyi's letter of introduction is translated and discussed in Kim 1996, pp. 125–26. For Qian's support of Wang Hui, see Chang Chin-Sung 2004, pp. 37–41.
85. *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, p. 855.
86. For details, see Kohara 1979, p. 161.
87. See Sirén 1956–58, vol. 5, p. 176.
88. *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, p. 875; *Qinghui Ge zengyi chidu* 1911, chap. 1, pp. 15b–17a.
89. For details, see Kim 1996, pp. 130–31.
90. *Ibid.*, pp. 163–64.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
92. For a discussion of *Old Trees, Level Distance*, see Fong 1992a, pp. 93–97.
93. For details of this album, see Hearn 1996, pp. 154–55.
94. Lee, Sherman E., and Fong 1955 is an excellent study of the importance of the “mountains and rivers without end” theme in the formation of early Chinese landscape painting. For a close study of *Summer Mountains* and an overview of the Yan Wengui tradition in Chinese landscape painting, see Fong 1975. For a recent study of *Pavilions and Mansions by Rivers and Mountains*, see Törmä 2002.
95. *Si Wang Wu Yun huibua* 1996, p. 89, pl. 47.
96. For a discussion of *Autumn Colors on the Qiao and Hua Mountains*, see Li, Chu-tsing 1965.
97. See note 68.
98. For a discussion of Liu Jue's copy, see Stanley-Baker 1995, p. 399.
99. Its accompanying inscription mentions that the original Wu Zhen belonged to the early Ming collector Xu Da (1332–1385), Duke of Wei, in Nanjing. Whether both Liu Jue's copy and the copy in the Taipei album were replicas of the same Wu Zhen original is difficult to tell. Even the accounts of Wu Zhen's *Autumn Clearing in the Mountain Pass* by Wu Sheng (early eighteenth century) and Gu Fu (late seventeenth century) do not match the basic features of the Taipei copy. *Autumn Clearing in the Mountain Pass* was thus probably a later copy of *Summer Mountains, Misty Rain*. Chang Joseph 1995, p. 46.
100. For details, see Contag 1970, p. 33.
101. *Qinghui Ge zengyi chidu* 1911, chap. 1, p. 17a.
102. Zhou Lianggong once asked Wang Hui to paint *Clearing after Snow in the Mountains and Rivers, after Wang Wei* for him. *Qinghui Ge zengyi chidu* 1911, chap. 2, pp. 1b–2a.
103. The letter is translated and discussed in Kim 1985, vol. 1, p. 202.
104. Kim 1996, pp. 163–64.
105. Barnhart 1972, p. 16.
106. Kim 1985, vol. 1, p. 202.
107. *Qinghui Ge zengyi chidu* 1911, chap. 1, pp. 11b–12a, 13b.
108. See Wang Hui, *Qinghui huaba* (1974 ed.), p. 315.
109. On Song Luo [Song Lao], see “Sung Lao” by Tu Lien-chê in Hummel 1943–44, pp. 689–90. Included in his collection were such Song masterworks as *Misty Rivers and Layered Peaks* by Wang Shen (ca. 1048–1103) (Shanghai Museum) and *Streams and Mountains, Pure and Remote* by Xia Gui (active ca. 1195–1230) (National Palace Museum, Taipei).
Two of the most famous works created by Wang Hui for Song Luo are the album entitled *Six Landscapes of the Western Slope*, dated 1688 (Art Museum, Tianjin), and *Six Landscapes*, a set of six handscrolls dated 1700 (Shanghai Museum).
110. The present location of the Song original is unknown.
111. Translation from Kim 1996, p. 131. The painting is reproduced and documented in Guse 2004, pp. 216, 260–61, fig. 111–81. See also *Gugong shubua tulu* 1989–, vol. 1 (1989), pp. 187–88. It is discussed in Loehr 1980, p. 144; and Fong 1984, p. 190.
112. Cahill 1994, p. 136.
113. See Bian Yongyu, *Shigu Tang shubua huikao* (1994 ed.), vol. 6, p. 941. Bian describes the medium, color, composition, and inscription but none of the spurious seals, which suggests that the painting was further altered after it left his collection.
114. Fong 1984, p. 190.
115. For the problem of copies and forgeries in Chinese paintings, see Zürcher 1955; and Fong 1962.
116. See note 11 above.
117. Joseph Chang has questioned the authenticity of Wang Hui's *To See Large within Small* album because the record compiled by Pei Jingfu (1854–1926) does not mention the seals of either Wang Hui or the later collector An Qi (ca. 1683–after 1744); Chang Joseph 1995, pp. 97–114; and Pei Jingfu 2006, vol. 2, pp. 467–69. Chang has concluded that the album was copied from the Taipei album by a follower of Wang Hui during or slightly after Wang Hui's time, and that the seals of Wang Hui and An Qi were added in the late nineteenth century after the album left Pei Jingfu's hands. As Roderick Whitfield has argued, however, it is certain that this album was copied directly from the Taipei album since all but two of its leaves have identical counterparts in the latter and since, in every case, the artist was successful in preserving the original proportions through flawless replication; see Whitfield's entry for the Shanghai *To See Large within Small* album in *Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang* 1992, vol. 2, p. 185. The differences between the textual record and the actual Shanghai album do not mean that Wang Hui himself did not paint it, because such discrepancies are not unusual in Chinese painting studies. In addition, it is possible that Pei Jingfu's account refers to a different album. Finally, even if the seals on the Shanghai album were added later, its high level of pictorial mastery and exactitude in copying the Taipei album leaves no doubt that the work is an early masterpiece by Wang Hui.
118. See Lin, Xiaoping 2001, p. 158.
119. For a discussion of the prices of Wang Hui's paintings, see Kim 1989, pp. 197–202.
120. *Ibid.*, p. 197; and Gao Shiqi, *Jiangcun shubua mu* (1994 ed.), pp. 1075–76.
121. *Qinghui Ge zengyi chidu* 1911, chap. 1, p. 19b. For prices of late-seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century Chinese paintings, see Hsü 1991; and Hay 2001, pp. 164–66.
122. Gao Shiqi, *Jiangcun shubua mu* (1994 ed.), p. 1073.
123. *Ibid.* On *Delight in Cloudy Mountains*, which is now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, see Sturman 1989, pp. 478–84.
124. When this landscape was first shown as part of the “In Pursuit of Antiquity” exhibition (Princeton University Art Museum, 1969), it was thought to be a very early replica of Wang Hui's painting of the same subject. See Whitfield 1969, pp. 114–18, no. 15.
125. For details, see Li, Wai-ye 1995.
126. Xu Zhongling 1995.
127. *Qinghui Ge zengyi chidu* 1911, chap. 1, p. 19b.
128. Yun Shouping, *Nantian huaba* (1994 ed.), p. 979.
129. *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, p. 832. The term “clouds and mists,” referring to a work of art or painting, derives from Su Shi's comments concerning Wang Shen's collection of paintings. For details, see Bush and Shih 1985, p. 234. The most notable usage of the term is found in the *Record of Clouds and Mist Passing before One's Eyes* (*Yunyan guoyan lu*) by Zhou Mi (1232–1308). For details of Zhou Mi's work, see Weitz 2002.
130. *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, pp. 827, 830, 834, 850.
131. For details of Du Fu's lines, see Hung 1952, pp. 169–70; and Bush and Shih 1985, p. 69.
132. *Qinghui Ge zengyi chidu* 1911, chap. 1, p. 8b.
133. *Ibid.*
134. *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, pp. 875–76.
135. *Ibid.*, p. 834.
136. The studio mode of collaborative production was common during the seventeenth century. For details, see Cahill 1994, pp. 71–112, esp. pp. 102–12.
137. *Qinghui Ge zengyi chidu* 1911, chap. 2, pp. 24a–24b. For a brief discussion of Zhang's commission, see Cahill 1994, p. 136.

138. *Qinghui Ge zengyi chidu* 1911, chap. 2, p. 15b. On Song Zhi, see under the entry "Sung Lao" by Tu Lien-chê in Hummel 1943–44, p. 690.
139. Fong 1996c, p. 479.
140. Translation from *ibid.*
141. Translation by Shi-ye Liu. See also Kohara 1979, p. 152.
142. *Qinghui Ge zengyi chidu* 1911, chap. 1, pp. 11b, 13b.
143. Cahill 1994, p. 9.
144. For details, see Tong 1983, pp. 47–48.
145. *Ibid.*, p. 48. See Yun Shouping, *Ouxiang Guan ji* (n.d.), chap. 12, p. 3a.
146. Translation by Shi-ye Liu. The complete transcription of Yun's inscription is found in Kohara 1979, p. 152.
147. *Ibid.*
148. Modified after Kim 1985, vol. 2, p. 91.
149. Modified after *ibid.*, pp. 91–92.
150. Translation from Fong 1984, p. 184.
151. Fong 1970, p. 43.
152. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
153. For details of Shitao's aspiration to artistic autonomy and independence, see Hay 2001, pp. 272–81.
154. On Dong Qichang's theories of painting, see Cahill 1987.
155. For the compositional principle of the "rising-and-falling" and "opening-and-closing" movements that appear in Wang Hui's landscapes, see Bush 1962.
156. On Da Chongguang, see Tong 1983, pp. 83–86; and Little 2003, p. 242.
157. On Da Chongguang's ownership of these scrolls, see Sturman 1989, pp. 478–81; and Little 2003, p. 242.
158. Among the most important of Da's inscriptions are those he provided for Wang Hui's album *In Pursuit of Antiquity*. See Whitfield 1969, pp. 119–20, 122, 126 (Leaves AA, BB, CC, FF, JJ).
159. For Da's inscriptions and colophons for Wang Hui's paintings, see Xu Bangda and Xue Yongnian 1999, pls. 13–16, 27; and *Zhongguo huibua quanji* 1997–, vol. 24 (2000), pls. 30, 45, 145.
160. A brief biography of Li Zongkong appears in *Jiangsu yiwen zhi* 1995, vol. 2, p. 1117; and *Zhongguo lidai renming dacidian* 1999, vol. 1, p. 990.
161. *Jiangsu yiwen zhi* 1995, vol. 2, p. 1117. The Shuyun seal after his style name is found on a leaf from *In Pursuit of Antiquity*. See Whitfield 1969, no. 16, leaf HH.
162. *Jiangsu yiwen zhi* 1995, vol. 2, p. 1117.
163. For details of this special examination, see Wilhelm 1951; and Kessler 1976.
164. Chen Jiexian 1999, pp. 12–14. On the political functions of Qing imperial gifts of calligraphy, see Hay 2005, esp. pp. 326–31.
165. *Jiangsu yiwen zhi* 1995, vol. 2, p. 1117; and Fu Shan, *Shuanghong Kan ji* (1985 ed.), vol. 2, p. 1332.
166. Wang Hongxu, *Hengyun Shanren ji* (1972 ed.), vol. 1, p. 511.
167. This painting is now thought to be a copy painted by a sixteenth-century Suzhou follower of Wen Zhengming. See Cahill 1980, p. 338.
168. *Zhongguo huibua quanji* 1997–, vol. 7 (1999), pls. 8, 9.
169. Now in the Shanghai Museum, the Huang Tingjian was originally an album but is currently mounted as a handscroll. Li's Shuyun seal is impressed in the lower left corner. I am grateful to Qianshen Bai of Boston University for bringing this work to my attention. For the Mi Fu letters, see Lin Po-t'ing 2007, pp. 334–45, esp. p. 342.
170. This album is most widely known through Roderick Whitfield's exhibition and its accompanying catalogue. See Whitfield 1969, pp. 119–42, no. 16.
171. *Ibid.*, no. 16, p. 128.
172. *Ibid.*, no. 16, p. 123, Leaf HH, and p. 126, Leaf K.
173. On Liu Yu and his relationship with Wang Hui, see Hearn 2002, pp. 25–45, esp. pp. 27–31.
174. See Whitfield's entry in *Century of Tung Ch'ü-ch'ang*, 1992, vol. 2, pp. 185–86, no. 165.
175. Translation from Whitfield 1969, p. 120.
176. For discussions of the painting, see Fong 1984, pp. 188–90; and Hearn 1996, p. 162.
177. Translation from Whitfield 1969, p. 108.
178. Chen Lüsheng 1996, p. 116. The location of this album is currently unknown.
179. In the surviving inscriptions and colophons by Wang Hui, as well as in the relevant textual records, Li Zongkong is referred to as "Mr. Li of Weiyang [*Weiyang Li shi*]," "Mr. Li of Guangling [*Guangling Li shi*]," "Supervising Secretary Li from Guangling [*Guangling Li Jijian*]," or "Supervising Secretary Li from Weiyang [*Weiyang Li Jijian*]." See *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, p. 863; *Zhongguo gudai shubua tumu* 1986–2001, vol. 4 (1990), p. 382, pl. 1-2865; and Xu Bangda and Xue Yongnian 1999, pls. 16, 17.
180. James Cahill considered the painting a late-eleventh-century work originally executed as a panel of a screen. See Cahill 1980, p. 39.
181. The Ming imperial "half" seal, Wang Duo's seal, three of Li Zongkong's seals, and an unidentified seal, along with the Qing imperial seals, are found on the painting. It also bears Wang Duo's inscription, dated 1649, written on the left border. For documentation of the painting, see *Gugong shubua tulu* 1989–, vol. 1 (1989), p. 58. Richard Barnhart suggested that *Autumn Mountains at Dusk* could be the pictorial equivalent of an ancient poem describing hard journeys, such as Li Bai's "The Road to Shu Is Hard." See Barnhart 1997, p. 93.
182. *Si Wang Wu Yun huibua* 1996, p. 113.
183. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
184. Michael Sullivan used the term "monumental intimisme" in reference to a landscape panorama by Zhao Boju (d. ca. 1162), *Autumn Colors on Rivers and Mountains*, (Palace Museum, Beijing) that depicts a great range of spectacular mountains and landmasses in the intimate format of a handscroll. See Sullivan 1999, p. 170.
185. Cressey 1934, pp. 39–40, 183–84; and Rong Bin and Xia Han'ning 1992, pp. 131–34.
186. Translation modified from Alley 1983, p. 203.
187. On Zhao Zhixin, see "Chao Chih-hsin" by Fang Chao-ying in Hummel 1943–44, p. 71; and Lo and Schultz 1986, pp. 161–62.
188. Zhao Weizhi and Liu Yuxin 1983, p. 18.
189. For Dong's theory of the Southern and Northern Schools, see Ho, Wai-kam 1976; Cahill 1982b, pp. 13–27; and Fong 1992b.
190. Yun Shouping, *Ouxiang Guan ji* (n.d.), chap. 12, p. 23a. The abridged version is recorded in Wang Hui, *Qinghui huaba* (1974 ed.), p. 317. Translation adapted from Fong 1984, p. 184.
191. Richard Barnhart has observed that Song painters were deeply engaged with the direct exploration of nature. Arguing that their experiments with truthfully copying nature lay at the very foundation of Song landscape painting, he termed the achievement of mimesis in landscape painting the "Song miracle." Barnhart 2001.
192. Cahill 1982b, p. 102.
193. For a discussion of this album, see Hearn 1996, pp. 154–55.
194. For the origin of the expression "sweeping ten-thousand miles into a square foot," see Lachman 1989, pp. 53, 58.
195. For a historical overview of the Kangxi era, see Spence 2002.
196. For discussions of Kangxi's Southern Inspection Tours, see Spence 1966, pp. 124–38; and Hearn 1990, pp. 10–54.
197. Singde's full name is Nalan Xingde, but he has also been called Nalan Chengde and Nalan Singde. The familiar form "Singde" is the name most known in the West, and I have adopted it in this text. On Singde, see "Singde" by Fang Chao-ying in Hummel 1943–44, pp. 662–63.
198. See "Mingju" by Fang Chao-ying in Hummel 1943–44, pp. 577–78; and Yan Chongnian 1989.
199. For details, see Oxnam 1975, pp. 68–69.
200. See "Singde" by Fang Chao-ying in Hummel 1943–44, p. 662.
201. For discussions of Singde's literary career, see McCraw 1990, pp. 117–43; Zhang Jiasheng 1993, pp. 333–67; and Zhuo Qingfen 1999.

202. On Singde's collection, see Zhang Yimin 1988.
203. Li, Chu-ting 1965, p. 33.
204. Zhang Yimin 1988.
205. For an illustration and discussion of *River Temple in the Long Summer*, see Barnhart 1997, pp. 129–30.
206. *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, p. 853.
207. Xu Qianxue also mentioned that Singde greatly admired Wang Hui's landscapes. See *ibid.*
208. For the Xu brothers' role in court politics, see Struve 1982; and Wang Jiajian 1994. The Xu family was the most powerful one in Kunshan. Most of its members became *jinshi*, and because they were wealthy landowners, they were able to remain influential in the local area for two or three generations. For details, see Ho, Ping-ti 1962, p. 145.
209. *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, p. 852. The expression "trimming the candlewick together by the west window" (*xichuang jianzhu*) comes from the poem "Lines To Be Sent Home, Written on a Rainy Night" by Li Shangyin (813–858) and alludes to the anticipation of a happy reunion with one who is now absent. For details, see Liu, James J. Y. 1969, p. 150. On Wang Xi, see "Wang Hsi" by Fang Chao-ying in Hummel 1943–44, p. 819.
210. See "Wang Hsi" by Fang Chao-ying in Hummel 1943–44, p. 819. Xu Shugu provides a more detailed account of Wang Hui's arrival in Beijing and Singde's sudden death. He includes Wang Xi in the company of high officials who offered the artist a warm welcome. For details, see *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, p. 854.
211. *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, p. 854.
212. *Ibid.*, p. 902.
213. This is confirmed by Qin Yuan (active second half seventeenth century), who, in an undated poem, made it clear that Wang Hui once stayed in the Northern Garden of the Xu Family at Deer City (Kunshan). *Ibid.*, p. 833.
214. Yun Shouping, *Ouxiang Guan ji* (n.d.), chap. 9, pp. 1a–2a.
215. *Ibid.*, p. 1a; and *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, p. 833. A native of Jiading, Zhang Yunzhang had established friendships with Wang Hui and Yun Shouping as well as with Xu Qianxue and Xu Yuanwen. His erudition in the Confucian classics made him a welcome guest at Xu Qianxue's residence, where the two worked together on the *Commentaries on Confucian Classics of the Song and Yuan Dynasties* (*Song Yuan jingjie*). The most detailed biography of Zhang Yunzhang is found in Fang Bao, "Zhang Pucun muzhiming" (1983 ed.). Because of his encyclopedic geographical knowledge, Gu Zuyu was asked in 1690 to join Xu Qianxue's large court-commissioned project, the *Comprehensive Geography of the Great Qing Dynasty* (*Da Qing yitong zhi*). For details, see Struve 1982, p. 253; and Elman 1984, p. 102.
216. For details, see Lu Shihua, *Wu Yue suojian shubua lu* (1994 ed.), pp. 139–40. On Xu Jiong, see under the entry "Hsü Ch'ien-hsüeh" by Tu Lien-chê in Hummel 1943–44, p. 311. Yun seems to have been closely associated with Xu Qianxue's sons. He painted a picture and composed four poems about a beautiful orchid in "Xu Shugu's garden," presumably the Northern Garden. See Yun Shouping, *Ouxiang Guan ji* (n.d.), chap. 10, pp. 16a–16b.
217. Xu Zhongling 1995, p. 66.
218. *Ibid.*
219. *Ibid.*
220. On the Southern Inspection Tour, see Hearn 1990.
221. *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, pp. 852, 854.
222. On Wu Zhengzhi, see *Qingdai beizhuan quanji* 1987, vol. 1, pp. 69–70; "Wu Chêng-chih" by Tu Lien-chê in Hummel 1943–44, pp. 863–64; and *Qingdai renwu zhuan gao* 1987, pp. 138–42.
223. Oxnam 1975, p. 193. In 1671 Wang Xi, Feng Pu, and Huang Ji were among the first appointed to participate in the *jingyan* (periodic lectures for the emperor); they further advanced their careers through their personal closeness to Kangxi. See Miller 1974, p. 123. On Feng Pu, see "Fêng P'u" by Tu Lien-chê in Hummel 1943–44, p. 243; on Huang Ji, see "Huang Chi" by Dean R. Wickes, *ibid.*, p. 337; and on Du Lide, see "Tu Li-tê" by Tu Lien-chê, *ibid.*, p. 778.
224. For details, see *Qingdai beizhuan quanji* 1987, vol. 1, pp. 69–70; "Wu Chêng-chih" by Tu Lien-chê in Hummel 1943–44, pp. 863–64; and *Qing shi liezhuan* 1962, vol. 9, p. 30.
225. *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, pp. 852–53.
226. *Qinghui Ge zengyi chidu* 1911, chap. 1, pp. 23b–24a.
227. This letter is translated and discussed in Silbergeld 1974, pp. 44, 152.
228. Gong Xian's letter, written sometime in the 1680s, refers to Wu Zhengzhi as "Grand Secretary Wu" (Wu Xiangguo). Wu's appointment as a grand secretary in 1681 suggests a date for the letter.
229. Hua Derong 1988, p. 157.
230. In a poem datable to 1684, Wu Zhengzhi refers to Wu Kaizhi as his younger brother (*jiadi*). See *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, p. 838.
231. For Wu's letters to Wang, see *Qinghui Ge zengyi chidu* 1911, chap. 1, pp. 24a–24b, vol. 2, pp. 16a–16b. Wu's seals, "Wu Kaizhi yin," "Yizi Pingyu," "Wu Meixi jiangding," "Yizhu ting," "Zunwen zhai tushu ji," and "Yiqing lou zhenshang yin," appear on such Wang Hui paintings as *Mountains and Rivers Clearing after Snow, in the Style of Li Cheng* (fig. 74), *Landscape after Yan Wengui's "Multiple Peaks of Mount Wuyi"* (fig. 72), *Panoramic Views of Mountains and Rivers* (fig. 73), *Thatched Cottage in the Autumn Mountains, in the Style of Wang Meng* (Princeton University Art Museum), and *Travelers amid Streams and Mountains, after Fan Kuan* (fig. 71). For details, see Kohara 1979, pp. 156–58.
232. *Qinghui Ge zengyi chidu* 1911, chap. 2, p. 16a.
233. *Ibid.*, pp. 23b–24a.
234. The scroll that has not survived is *Landscape after Juran's "Summer Mountains"*. See Utsumi 1972, p. 41; and Fang Junyi 1998, p. 319. The *Enjoyment of Life* scroll is currently in the Palace Museum, Beijing, but has never been published. See *Zhongguo gudai shubua tumu* 1986–2001, vol. 22 (2001), p. 421. On Zhongchang Tong and the "Essay on the Enjoyment of Life," see Holzman 1996, pp. 70–73, which translates the title as "Essay on Good Cheer."
235. For a brief introduction to the handscroll format as an artistic medium, see Silbergeld 1982, pp. 12–13; and Wu Hung 1996, pp. 57–71.
236. For the development of the "mountains and rivers without end" theme in Northern Song painting, see Lee, Sherman E., and Fong 1955. For Yan Wengui, see Fong 1975; Shimada Hidemasa 1976; and Törmä 2002.
237. *Qinghui Ge zengyi chidu* 1911, chap. 1, p. 24a.
238. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 5b–6a.
239. *Ibid.*, p. 13b.
240. On Liang Qingbiao, see Chen Yaolin 1988. For selected paintings from Liang's collection, see Lee, Sherman E., and Fong 1955, pp. 1–15. For a detailed study of *Summer Mountains*, see Fong 1975.
241. *Qinghui Ge zengyi chidu* 1911, chap. 2, pp. 1a–1b.
242. *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, p. 838.
243. Zhao Mengfu's *Water Village* (fig. 55) bears the "Hanyang Wu shi cang shuhua yinji" seal, which indicates that the scroll was owned by Wu Zhengzhi either before or after it belonged to Singde. See *Midian zhulin Shiqu baoji xubian* (1971 ed.), vol. 1, p. 585.
244. *Ibid.*
245. Translation by Shi-yee Liu.
246. Wang Hui may also have been influenced by two twelfth-century scrolls in the collection of Liang Qingbiao that were continuations of Yan Wengui's style: *Streams and Mountains without End* (fig. 76) and Wang Ximeng's *A Thousand Miles of Rivers and Mountains* (Palace Museum, Beijing).
247. Pei Jingfu 2006, vol. 2, p. 488. On Gao Shiqi, see "Kao Shih-ch'i" by Fang Chao-ying in Hummel 1943–44, pp. 413–15.
248. Tang Sunhua, *Dongjiang shi chao* (1979 ed.), vol. 2, pp. 12b–13b, 128a–30b.
249. *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, p. 817.

250. Other sources also name Wang Shan as having taken administrative responsibility for the *Southern Inspection Tour* project. See Hearn 1990, pp. 55–56.
251. *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, pp. 815, 817–18.
252. For a detailed discussion of the *Southern Inspection Tour* project, see Heilesen 1980b; Hearn 1988, p. 94; and Hearn 1990.
253. *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, p. 815.
254. Jiang Tingxi, in a poem for Wang Hui's sixtieth birthday dated 1691, celebrated the *Southern Inspection Tour* as images of the "grand peace." See *ibid.*, p. 878.
255. *Ibid.*, pp. 878, 883.
256. For an insightful discussion of the cultural politics of the Kangxi period, see Spence 1976.
257. On Kangxi's "Great Unity" (*Datong*) politics, see Hearn 1990, pp. 267–72.
258. *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, pp. 815, 818.
259. Frodsham 1967, vol. 1, p. 138; and Tokura 1988, p. 163.
260. See Tokura 1988, pp. 163–69; and Tokura 1996. Wang Ximeng's visionary blue-and-green landscape, *A Thousand Miles of Rivers and Mountains* (see note 246 above), exemplified this poetic imagery.
261. For stylistic features of landscapes associated with Jing Hao and Guan Tong, see Fong 1984, pp. 27–33; and Fong 1996b, pp. 121–22.
262. Chang Chin-Sung 2004, pp. 197–212.
263. On Fan Qi and his works, see Vinograd 2003.
264. On Wu Hong, see Rogers and Lee, Sherman E. 1988, pp. 171–72, no. 17.
265. For details, see Chang Chin-Sung 2004, pp. 159–75, 191–97.
266. For a detailed description of this area as depicted in the *Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour*, see Hearn 1990, pp. 161–62.
267. *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, pp. 815, 818.



Art Creates History: Wang Hui and *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour*

Maxwell K. Hearn

Wang Hui's chef d'oeuvre arose from a commission to illustrate the Kangxi emperor's second Southern Inspection Tour, conducted in 1689. This epic undertaking not only affected the painter's career but also marked a watershed in the contemporary political landscape. In addition, as the earliest large-scale painting project commissioned by a Qing emperor, the work established a precedent for court-sponsored commemorative art during China's last imperial dynasty (1644–1911).

Begun within two years of Kangxi's triumphant completion of his journey, the pictorial documentation of the second Southern Tour (pls. 47–57) reflects the same spirit of buoyant confidence that characterizes the account of Kangxi's journey in the imperial *Diaries*.¹ Indeed, the painting was envisioned as a complement to the official chronicles, and its vivid amplification of the written record makes it a powerful historiographic document. As a work created under the supervision of artists and officials from Jiangnan ("South of the [Yangzi] River"), it also testified to the emperor's success in recruiting southern scholars and enhanced his image as a patron of the arts and devotee of southern culture.

THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TOURS

The Kangxi emperor (r. 1662–1722), the second Manchu ruler to govern the former Ming dynasty, came to the throne at the age of seven, only eighteen years after the Manchus had occupied the Ming capital of Beijing. In his first two decades of rule, he was faced with the tasks of asserting his independence from powerful regents and building a base of support that would enable him to control Manchu factionalism. Most pressing, however, was the need to exercise his authority over a newly conquered empire. Forcefully demonstrating the Manchus' tenuous control, the Revolt of the Three Feudatories (1673–83) threatened both the physical unification of the Chinese state and, even more important, its social cohesion and the loyalty of the emperor's subjects.

One of Kangxi's greatest challenges was reshaping perceptions concerning Manchu rule. The Manchus wished to present the fall of the Ming royal house and the establishment of their own Qing ("Pure") dynasty as an affirmation of a natural cycle of change in which the new dynasty's legitimacy stemmed from its rightful inheritance of Heaven's mandate. Since the collapse of a ruling house was traditionally attributed to

Pl. 47. Wang Hui (1632–1717) and assistants. *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour*, Scroll Three, datable to 1698. Kangxi's departure from Jinan (detail, pl. 49)

its loss of virtue, a new dynasty could justifiably claim that moral renewal and the restoration of virtuous rulership were implicit in its political success. Yet the reality must have seemed quite different at the time. The Manchus, a non-Chinese people with their own language and customs rooted in a nomadic tradition, were perceived as barbarians. Their brutal conquest of southern China, in which the populations of whole cities were massacred, only deepened the enmity felt toward the invaders, while their inflexible requirement that all Chinese men adopt the Manchu queue must have underlined the threat to Chinese culture that their rulership implied.² As hopes of a Ming restoration evaporated, the double-staffing (Manchu and Chinese) of official positions, the new styles in clothing, and the lack of linguistic skills and cultural sophistication displayed by the first-generation Manchu overlords must have left the scholar class in shock. From the Manchu point of view, the myth of their military might must have been precariously balanced by the reality of China's vast size and the staggering numerical superiority of its population.

The emperor found it necessary for his own survival to draw support from southern Chinese scholars as a means of counterbalancing the power held by the leaders of the Manchu banners (the military units under which the Qing army was organized). To recruit able scholars to join his government, Kangxi presented himself as a worthy Confucian monarch. Imperial tours of inspection, undertaken by Chinese emperors since ancient times, were a significant means for him to enhance his image as a legitimate ruler while also extending his political control. Through such journeys, Kangxi could implement a personal style of government, familiarize himself with local conditions, check on the effectiveness of provincial bureaucrats, broaden his contacts with officials, scholars, and gentry outside the circumscribed political sphere of the capital, and practice a "hands-on" involvement in local affairs.³ At the same time, the tours served as a grandiose stage for ceremonial pronouncements and ritual acts that emphasized his commitment to Chinese modes of rulership and his identification with traditional Confucian ideals, which enabled him to assert his legitimacy as ruler of "all under Heaven."

While Kangxi also made inspection tours to the north, east, and west, the most important by far were his six tours of the South in 1684, 1689, 1699, 1703, 1705, and 1707.⁴ These tours through the Yangzi Delta area, the economic and cultural heart of the empire, encompassed the key urban centers of present-day

Jiangsu and northern Zhejiang Provinces. A large portion of the empire's yearly tax revenues came from this area, and Jiangnan (modern Jiangsu and Anhui Provinces) consistently led all other provinces in the number of successful metropolitan degree (*jinsshi*) candidates.⁵ In spite of the region's financial and scholarly importance, however, during the first thirty years of the Qing dynasty, Yangzi Delta men were excluded from significant political power.⁶ After Yangzi Delta resources and manpower proved crucial in suppressing the Revolt of the Three Feudatories, however, the need to integrate this region into the Qing empire became apparent. Just as the region traded loyal support for political power, Kangxi effectively utilized Jiangnan as a source of political and scholarly talent to help him overcome the powerful Manchu and northern Chinese factions that dominated the metropolitan bureaucracy during the early years of his reign.⁷

The first two Southern Tours coincided with major shake-ups in factional alignments within the bureaucratic power structure. Kangxi embarked on the first tour shortly after the dissolution of the influential Manchu Plain Yellow Banner faction led by Songgotu (d. 1703). Songgotu's dismissal from office on April 4, 1683, marked a watershed in Kangxi's career, the twenty-nine-year-old emperor emerging as a significant political force in his own right. The second Southern Tour followed the fall from power of Mingju (1635–1708) and his Northern Faction in 1689.⁸ Coming at moments of relative stability before new factional alignments could crystallize, the tours gave Kangxi the opportunity to assess conditions outside the confines of the Beijing bureaucracy and recruit fresh support while placing himself in the position of mediator between conflicting interest groups.

The first Southern Tour was conceived as part of a program of inspections that were eventually to include the west, north, and east as well.⁹ These tours, which featured visits to Mount Wutai, the sacred Buddhist mountain in the west, and Mount Tai, the Eastern Sacred Peak, were in part pilgrimages of thanksgiving following Kangxi's military triumph over Wu Sangui (1612–1678) and the Three Feudatories rebels as well as his political victory over Songgotu.¹⁰ On November 5, 1684, Kangxi began what was initially called an Eastern Tour, but when he crossed the Yellow River, heading south, this sojourn officially became the first Southern Tour.¹¹

The principal feature of Kangxi's first tour into Shandong Province was his ascent of Mount Tai and performance of a Heaven-worshipping ceremony.¹²



Map 2. Route of Kangxi's 1689 Southern Inspection Tour, showing modern political boundaries

From the Qin dynasty (221–207 B.C.E.) onward, Mount Tai had been an important objective of imperial pilgrimages.¹³ Emperors traveled there in order to perform the Feng and Shan ceremonies, by which they reported to Heaven and Earth on the status of the empire and offered thanks. The successful execution of these ceremonies was a potent sign that the monarch possessed Heaven's mandate.

Although the offering Kangxi made during this tour is not identified by name, its ritual importance was not lost on the members of his retinue, one of whom proposed that he take this opportunity to proclaim the beginning of a new reign era.¹⁴ From Mount Tai, Kangxi continued southward overland to the Yellow River, where he spent several days surveying the dikes and channels around the confluence of the Yellow

and Huai rivers. From the confluence point, he traveled by boat down the Grand Canal to Yangzhou and Suzhou; he also made an excursion to Nanjing. Kangxi arrived back in Beijing on January 4, 1685, scarcely one month before the lunar New Year.

This first Southern Tour, made less than a year after the defeat of rebel forces, resembled a scouting party more than a triumphal procession. Although Kangxi showed a keen interest in river conservation work and made a show of inquiring after local conditions, his most important objectives must have been to gauge the feelings of southern gentry, to gain their acceptance, and to enlist their support. Throughout the tour Kangxi made every effort to play the role of a traditional Confucian monarch and to make gestures of reconciliation toward Ming loyalists. In Nanjing he personally offered libations at the tomb of the Hongwu emperor (r. 1368–98), the first ruler of the Ming dynasty.¹⁵

On January 28, 1689, the emperor left Beijing on his second inspection tour of the South (map 2). His journey encompassed Mount Tai, the Yangzi and Yellow rivers, the Grand Canal, and the most important urban centers of the empire. He arrived back in the capital on April 8, one day after his thirty-fifth birthday (thirty-six *sui*).

By all accounts, Kangxi's seventy-one-day sojourn was a tremendous success. Not only did he accomplish his proclaimed objectives "to review river work, examine local customs, and inquire about civil administration,"¹⁶ but his attentive observation of traditional protocol and ritual, along with well-timed appeals to the self-interest of the populace through tax remissions, audiences, and the bestowal of gifts upon institutions and individuals, won tumultuous public approval. His tour became a triumphal procession during which he rode a wave of public gratitude for returning the empire to peace and prosperity. At least this is how it is presented in contemporary official chronicles.¹⁷

The 1689 journey also established the basic pattern for all subsequent Southern Tours. On each day of travel the emperor covered about fifteen miles (twenty-five kilometers) on land or thirty miles (fifty kilometers) on water, the entire tour encompassing a distance of roughly 2,000 miles (3,300 kilometers).¹⁸ Traversing the entire length of the Grand Canal as well as the overland route connecting the Manchu capital to the South, this tour enabled the emperor to inspect the most vital economic and communications arteries of the empire. More important, the various functions and ritual ceremonies that Kangxi enacted—even his very presence among the popu-

lace—served to confirm his legitimacy and demonstrate his intention to rule his Chinese subjects as a Chinese-style monarch. On this tour he again led his officials in a ritual sacrifice to the deity of Mount Tai and personally offered libations at the tomb of the first Ming emperor. In addition, he made a special excursion from Hangzhou to the Temple of the Great Yu in Shaoxing in order to carry out a ceremony honoring the legendary tamer of the floodwaters and founder of the Xia dynasty (ca. 2100–1600 B.C.E.).

THE SELECTION OF WANG HUI

Kangxi clearly appreciated the value of traditional historiographic institutions for fostering the appearance of political legitimacy. Once the *Southern Inspection Tour* project was proposed, he must have recognized its potential benefit as an instrument of statecraft. Indeed, the content and appearance of the *Southern Inspection Tour* paintings were governed as much by inherited traditions and past models as they were by actual events. Wang Hui's artistry proved to encompass not merely the creation of a beautiful landscape painting but also the ability to mold the raw material of the tour, as recorded in various written accounts, into a culturally significant narrative.

The choice of Wang Hui, the preeminent artist of the day, as director of the project insured that awareness of the painting would have been widespread.¹⁹ Already in the early 1680s Wang Hui had embarked on a series of ambitious panoramic landscape handscrolls the main purpose of which, as Chin-Sung Chang has suggested in his essay in this volume, was to demonstrate his qualifications to depict an imperial inspection tour. Chang has shown that Wang Hui produced several long panoramic landscapes for the Grand Secretary Wu Zhengzhi (1618–1691) and his brother Wu Kaizhi (active 1680–90) in a conscious effort to win this commission. He has argued persuasively that Wang's *Layered Rivers and Tiered Peaks* (pl. 44A,B), a handscroll measuring more than sixty-one feet (eighteen meters) in length, was painted for Wu Zhengzhi. It seems very likely that Wang hoped the work—completed in the seventh lunar month of 1684, just four months before Kangxi's visit to Nanjing on his first Southern Inspection Tour—might be presented to the court as a way of inspiring the emperor or his courtiers to commission a pictorial record of that tour. Chang has suggested that, but for the sudden death of the Manchu Singde (Nalan Xingde, 1654–1685), Wang Hui's chief advocate at this time, Wang may have

gained a commission as early as 1685 to illustrate Kangxi's first tour.

Five years later, when Kangxi made his second, even grander Southern Tour, Wang Hui's stature among influential officials in the capital was well established. While there is no record in the *Diaries* or the *Veritable Records of the Kangxi Reign* (*Shilu*) of either the decision to initiate this project or the method of Wang Hui's selection, Wang Shan (1645–1728) and Song Junye (ca. 1662–1713), the two high-ranking officials mentioned in connection with the project once it got under way, were both intimately connected to Wang Hui's circle. Wang Shan, who was later to become a grand secretary, was the eighth son of Wang Hui's mentor, Wang Shimin (1592–1680).²⁰ Song Junye, an amateur artist who once studied painting with Wang Hui, was in attendance on the emperor in Suzhou during Kangxi's 1689 tour and subsequently enjoyed a long involvement with court-sponsored patronage of the arts.²¹ Although Song's surviving works show him to be a very minor talent who could not possibly have produced the *Southern Inspection Tour*, his central administrative role in its creation is attested to by the *Gazetteer of the Qing Dynasty* (*Qingchao tongzhi*), in which his name is the only one to appear under the entry for the painting.²²

In the absence of a clearly defined imperial painting academy, Song Junye and Wang Shan apparently functioned as bureaucratic intermediaries between select artists and the throne. They are specifically mentioned as organizers responsible for recruiting painters in the biographies of Yang Jin (1644–1728) and Gu Fang (active ca. 1690–1720), two of Wang Hui's disciples and collaborators on the project.²³ This bureaucratic function is confirmed in a colophon, dated March 31, 1828, to the draft version of Scroll Seven written by a descendant of Song Junye named Song Xiang (1748–1862), which reads in part as follows:

*The former official [Song] Junye was summoned to attend the emperor in the South Library [Nan Shufang] in the gengwu year of Kangxi [1690]. There he respectfully received the command to paint the Magnificent Record of the Southern Tour [Nanxun shengdian]. Consequently, he invited Wang Shigu [Wang Hui] and other famous masters to gather at his residence in the capital, where they resided, deliberated, and laid out [their work] until the yihai year [1695], when he announced the completion of altogether twelve [draft] handscrolls [depicting the route] from the capital to Zhejiang.*²⁴

Song Junye's involvement is further confirmed by the text of the title strip on the draft for Scroll



Fig. 83. Wang Hui (1632–1717) and assistants. *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour*, Draft Scroll Ten (detail, title strip), datable to 1694–95. Handscroll, ink and light color on paper, 26 in. × 80 ft. 5 in. (66.1 cm × 24.5 m). Palace Museum, Beijing

Ten: "Draft of the first scroll illustrating the Southern Tour Return Journey of the Shengzu Ren Huangdi [the Kangxi emperor]; presented by Song Junye, executed by Wang Hui" (fig. 83).²⁵

Although Song Xiang's colophon tactfully suggests that Kangxi gave the order for the commission, it is unlikely that this would have come about without a concrete proposal from Wang Shan and Song Junye. As intimates of the emperor, they would have had many opportunities to discuss the project in detail, explaining how it would be administered and who would do the work. Their close connection to Wang Hui made his selection as artistic director almost inevitable.



Pl. 48. *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour*, Scroll Three. Rolled handscroll with its jade clasp, satin damask wrapper, and lacquer box

ARTISTIC AND POLITICAL GOALS

The appointment of Wang Hui guaranteed that the *Southern Inspection Tour* would be much more than a literal depiction of Kangxi's journey. From a practical point of view, since the artist had not accompanied the emperor on the tour and did not arrive in Beijing to begin work on the project until two years after the trip was completed, he could hardly be expected to reconstruct all the actual events just as they happened. Instead, he had the task of conceptualizing the tour: combining references to the important places Kangxi visited with the major events that took place. The painting is an interpretation of what mattered about the trip, what made it significant to the emperor and to his subjects. It is also a work of

art with its own compositional and dramatic constraints and conventions. For practical, political, and artistic reasons, therefore, a literal depiction of Kangxi's journey was impossible.

In constructing his narrative, Wang Hui ingeniously drew upon traditional precedents. His descriptions of places and events were inevitably filtered through the thick lens of dramatic and pictorial convention. Like the composer of a literary epic, Wang Hui had to take the disparate details of the journey and develop them into a coherent, unified whole. In literary terms, his final pictorial narrative combines elements of the historical chronicle with an allegorical narrative. Because its basic framework was dictated by the specific places and events recorded in the *Diaries*, the painting exhibits features of both



traditional topographic depictions and episodic history paintings. At the same time, it functions as a novel in that the narrative possesses several layers of meaning. The *Southern Inspection Tour* shows Kangxi on his journey, but it manipulates the setting and content to elevate him above the mundane factual world, placing him on an allegorical plane where his deeds reflect his conformity to traditional cultural archetypes of rulership.²⁶ On this stage, Kangxi is presented as a sage-king. What mattered most in the *Southern Inspection Tour* was that the cultural resonances of Kangxi's deeds be manifested and made clear; that as the hero of the narrative, Kangxi would be seen to behave in the same manner as the loftiest rulers and culture heroes of the past. The comparison of Kangxi to earlier culture heroes was not merely flattery on

the part of Wang Hui: throughout his trip the emperor consciously sought to present himself as an ideal ruler, while his officials and subjects never tired of comparing him to the sage-kings of antiquity.

This aspect of the painting raises the issue of the audience for whom it was created. Never catalogued as part of the regular painting collection, it was apparently kept in a separate imperial archive, such as those devoted to portraits and maps. Since very few people ever saw the *Southern Inspection Tour*, the painting's intended audience may well have been the future generations of monarchs and historians who would ultimately pass judgment upon the Kangxi emperor. Yet the work certainly had a tremendous impact on contemporary society, a significance that lay more in the act of creation than in the viewing. The prominence accorded to the project in all of Wang Hui's biographies demonstrates that knowledge of the imperial commission was widespread. Moreover, as the first major imperial commission promulgated by a Manchu emperor, its effect on artists of the time is unmistakable.

For Kangxi to be a patron of the arts redounded to the glory of both emperor and subject by demonstrating that an appreciation of Chinese cultural forms was necessary to successfully rule the empire. As with Kangxi's adoption of the institutions of the court diarist, court lecturer, and scholars of the South Library, the creation of the *Southern Inspection Tour* reveals a sensitivity to the power of historiography in molding contemporary as well as future opinion. The lesson was not lost on the Qianlong emperor (r. 1736–95), Kangxi's grandson, who was deeply influenced by Kangxi's Southern Tours and the use of art as an implement for shaping history.²⁷

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

The twelve long handscrolls that collectively make up the *Picture of the Kangxi Southern Inspection Tour* (*Kangxi nanxuntu*) were dispersed sometime before 1949. Ten of the twelve finished silk paintings and five of the preliminary drafts on paper are currently known (table 1). By their very size and material opulence, the scrolls proclaim the majesty and magnificence of the Kangxi emperor. Not only does the set epitomize the highest standard of early Qing craftsmanship, it also constitutes the largest and most lavish surviving example of handscroll art. The very act of uncovering and unrolling one of these scrolls entails a lengthy ritual that provides numerous reminders of Kangxi's imperial stature.

The viewer's first encounter with a *Southern Inspection Tour* scroll is with an imposing black-and-gold lacquer casket embellished with incised patterns of five-claw dragons amid waves and clouds (pl. 48). Inside, the scroll is swaddled in an imperial yellow satin-damask wrapping decorated on the outside with two types of five-claw dragons in warp-float rondels and lined with salmon-pink silk figured with a diaper of clouds amid scrolling floral vines. The rolled-up handscroll is further secured with a wide purple-and-white ribbon fastened by an immense jade clasp, while the two roller ends are capped with cloisonné medallions. A title strip mounted along the "eye-brow" stave is inscribed with the title, scroll number, and contents. Each immense handscroll weighs over seven pounds and measures almost twenty-seven inches (seventy centimeters) in height and more than four inches (ten centimeters) in diameter. At the beginning of each there is a frontispiece inscribed with a text summarizing the dramatic high points of the ensuing painting. The paintings are all 26¾ inches (67.8 centimeters) in height and range from forty-six to eighty-six feet (fourteen to twenty-six meters) in length. For imperial viewings, the scrolls would probably have been handled by two assistants, one at either side of the unrolled portion.

THE THEMATIC PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN INSPECTION TOUR

In condensing Kangxi's journey into twelve long handscrolls, Wang Hui had to abbreviate or omit those portions of the tour that had little dramatic interest. Each scroll focuses on one important theme connected with the tour—a political event, a ritual act performed by Kangxi, or a significant site that he visited. Scroll One takes the pomp and ceremony surrounding Kangxi's departure from the capital as its subject. Scroll Two illustrates Kangxi's entry into Jinan, the provincial capital of Shandong Province, and his subjects' displays of gratitude for his remission of taxes. Scroll Three depicts the tour route through the spectacular mountain scenery of central Shandong Province, focusing on Mount Tai, where Kangxi performed a ceremony honoring the deity of the mountain. In Scroll Four the emperor's support of river conservation work and of efforts to bring the Yellow River under control is highlighted.

Scroll Five is presently missing, but written accounts indicate that the most important events in this segment of the tour were Kangxi's remission of taxes in Jiangnan Province and his visit to the commercial metropolis of Yangzhou; the retinue's

shift from horseback to canal boat would likely have been a third narrative focus. The major event commemorated in Scroll Six must have been Kangxi's crossing of the Yangzi River. Of this scroll, only the final section is extant, and it illustrates a portion of the Grand Canal culminating with the city of Changzhou. Scroll Seven celebrates Kangxi's entrance into the great metropolis of Suzhou, the economic and cultural capital of the empire. The location of the final version of Scroll Eight is unknown, but the extant paper draft chronicles the tour route from Suzhou to the outskirts of Hangzhou, focusing on the pomp and ceremony that accompanied the emperor's crossing the provincial boundary between Jiangnan and Zhejiang.

Scroll Nine dramatizes Kangxi's excursion from Hangzhou to Shaoxing to perform a special sacrifice at the Temple of the Great Yu. The most important event of Kangxi's return journey—his visit to the former Ming "Southern Capital," Nanjing—is chronicled in Scroll Ten, which emphasizes Kangxi's ritual actions in Nanjing as well as the prosperity of the city. Scroll Eleven highlights Nanjing's strategic importance and the value of maintaining a powerful naval force by depicting Kangxi's two-day sail down the Yangzi River from Nanjing to the mouth of the Grand Canal. The final painting in the series, Scroll Twelve, focuses on the ritual ceremony welcoming Kangxi back to Beijing. Omitting the entire route from the Yangzi River to the outskirts of Beijing, a distance the entourage took two weeks to cover, it depicts Kangxi's grand entrance into the capital and palace precincts.²⁸

WANG HUI AND A NEW COURT STYLE

Prior to the creation of the *Southern Inspection Tour*, not only was there no formal painting academy to define Qing-court style, there was little indication of what constituted Manchu taste. When Wang Hui arrived in Beijing in 1691 to begin work on the project, his first challenge was to formulate a style appropriate to the task, one that would accommodate his own artistic heritage while also fulfilling the narrative and decorative demands of imperial historiography.

Wang Hui's career had prepared him well for this task. By the time of his commission he had achieved an unparalleled reputation in the South, where he was celebrated as the "painting sage" who had realized the Orthodox ideal expounded by Dong Qichang (1555–1636) of achieving a "Great Synthesis" of all the earlier styles of the Song (960–1279) and Yuan (1271–1368) periods. After mastering various classical

Table 1. The Extant Scrolls from *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour*

Scroll	Route Depicted	Dates	Distance Depicted Miles (Kilometers)	Collection	Length Feet (Meters) ^a
One	Beijing (Yongding Gate) to Nan Yuan	January 28	6 (10)	Palace Museum, Beijing	51 (15.6)
Two	Pingyuan to Ji'nan	February 3–5	56 (90)	Musée Guimet, Paris	45 (13.8)
Three	Ji'nan to Mount Tai to Mengyin	February 5–8	124 (200)	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	46 (13.9)
Four	Shandong-Jiangsu border (Honghuapu) to confluence of Yellow and Huai Rivers	February 12–13	96 (155)	Musée Guimet, Paris	51 (15.6)
Five ^b	(Yangzhou to Yangzi River?)				
Six ^c	(Zhenjiang?) to Ben-niu to Changzhou	February 19–20	12+ (20+)	Private Collection, Phoenix	16+ (4.8+)
Seven ^d	Wuxi to Suzhou and Tiger Hill	February 22–23	31 (50)	University of Alberta, Mactaggart Art Collection, Edmonton	72 (21.9)
Eight ^e	Suzhou to Tangqi	February 25–27	87 (140)	Palace Museum, Beijing	64 (19.7)
Nine	Qiantang River to Shaoxing and Yu Temple	March 4–5	37 (60)	Palace Museum, Beijing	73 (22.3)
Ten	Jurong to Nanjing; military inspection	March 16–20	28 (45)	Palace Museum, Beijing	84 (25.6)
Eleven	Nanjing to Jin Shan	March 21, 22	53 (85)	Palace Museum, Beijing	76 (23.1)
Twelve	Beijing: Yongding Gate to Hall of Supreme Harmony	April 8	3 (5)	Palace Museum, Beijing	86 (26.1)
Total		71 Days	533 (860)		ca. 664 (ca. 202.4) ^f

a. The width of the scrolls is 26 3/4 inches (67.8 centimeters).

b. The present location of this scroll is unknown.

c. Only a portion of the original scroll is extant.

d. Draft versions also exist for Scroll Seven (Jiangsu Provincial Museum, Nanjing), Scroll Eleven (Shenyang Palace Museum), and Scrolls Eight, Ten, and Twelve (all Palace Museum, Beijing).

e. Scroll Eight survives only in a paper draft version. Its width, 25 7/8 inches (65.7 centimeters), makes it slightly narrower than the finished silk version.

f. Assuming that the lost silk version of Scroll Eight is no shorter than the draft and that Scrolls Five and Six each measure at least forty-six feet (fourteen meters), the total length of the twelve scrolls would exceed 738 feet (225 meters).

Figs. 84, 85. Wang Hui (1632–1717) and followers. *Landscapes after Ancient Masters*, dated 1692. Two leaves in an album of sixteen paintings, ink or ink and color on paper, each leaf 11 × 12 1/2 in. (28 × 30.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Marie-Hélène and Guy A. Weill, 2000 (2000.665.2)

This page: Xu Min (active ca. 1690–1722). Leaf B, *Water Village*, after Zhao Lingrang, ink and color on paper

Opposite: Gu Fang (active ca. 1690–1720). Leaf M, *Pavilion by a Stream with Distant Mountains*, after Wang Fu, ink on paper



models, in the 1680s Wang made major strides toward recreating a monumental landscape manner in a series of long handscrolls incorporating Northern Song idioms. Combining this landscape mode with the narrative style epitomized by the early-twelfth-century painter Zhang Zeduan in *Spring Festival on the River* (see figs. 118, 122), Wang provided himself with a pictorial structure that could harmoniously accommodate both dramatic landscape scenery (see pl. 49) and detailed cityscapes (see pl. 52A–E). He transformed these Song motifs with calligraphic brushwork and compositional conventions derived from Yuan and Ming scholar-artists. Wang further enriched his landscape passages with the blue-and-green palette that had been associated since Song times with visions of paradise or an antique golden age. This synthesis, incorporating elements of the academic tradition but based primarily upon literati ideals of expressive brushwork, established a new court orthodoxy that would become the basis for most later imperially sponsored Qing painting.

Wang Hui's choice of Song dynasty models reflects something of the spirit of the times, which witnessed a revival of the Northern Song monumental landscape manner. Like his Song predecessors, Wang sought to present an encyclopedic vision, to encompass the vastness and multiplicity of the natural and man-made worlds through a minutely observed, intricately described painting style. Their shared goal was to create an idealized rather than a literal image of life. Wang's narrative, in all its manifestations, aimed for "truth" rather than "reality," for the archetype rather than the particular and mundane. Whereas Song painters described physical appearances to capture paradigmatic images of nature, Wang worked on a higher level of abstraction that also conveyed his command of earlier painting styles. Expressive brushwork and abstract compositional patterns were more important than precise descriptive detail.

In addition, Wang Hui greatly expanded the scale of his work to encompass a new, programmatic approach.



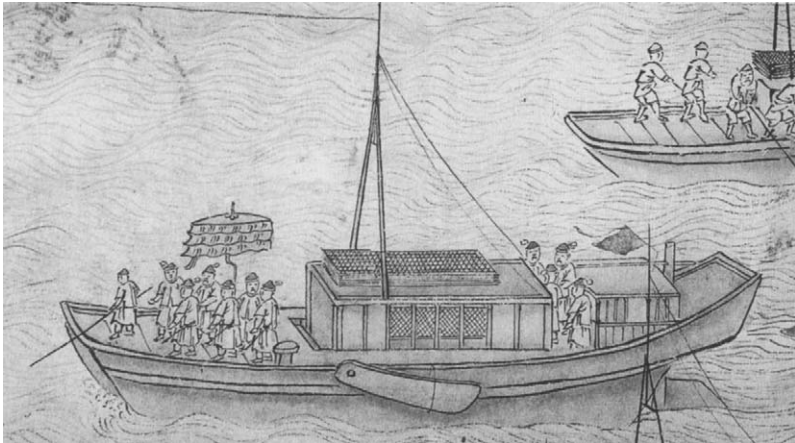
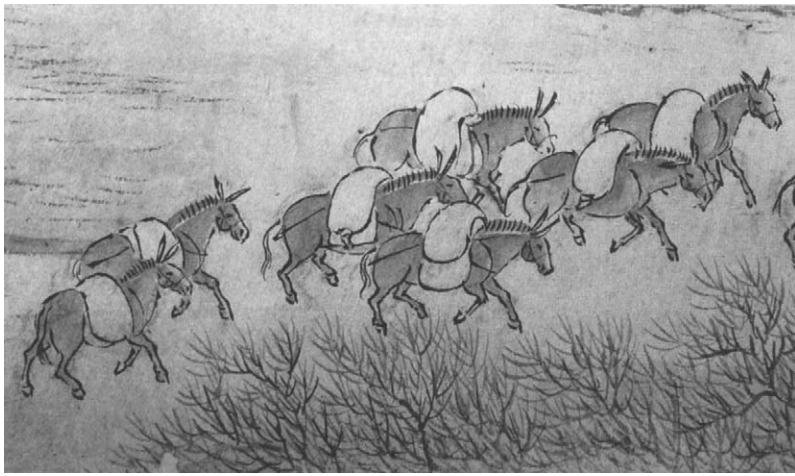
The immense size of the paintings and their staggering amount of detail—including more than thirty-seven thousand figures—overwhelm the viewer with the grandeur and magnitude of Kangxi's Second Tour, but they also call attention to Wang Hui's mastery in creating such a painting. Dividing the journey into twelve scrolls, Wang systematically explored the different landscapes and cityscapes encompassed by the tour as well as the various roles of the emperor and the changing deployment and formations of his military escort and official retinue. His ambition in the *Southern Inspection Tour* was to encompass a microcosm of the Chinese world, but a world that was transformed through his art.

DRAFT AND FINISHED VERSIONS, MASTER AND WORKSHOP: THE TECHNICAL STAGES OF CREATION

To create a suitably grand vision of Kangxi's tour, Wang Hui had to enlist the help of a team of

assistants who would accept his artistic leadership and subordinate their own stylistic identities to his. In part this was a question of the division of labor: how could Wang best utilize the special talents of the other artists available to work on the project? Ultimately, however, Wang Hui had to transform his personal style into conventions that assistants could imitate but that preserved something of his artistic identity and standards.

Since the finished paintings bear no artists' signatures, seals, or other identifying information, more circumstantial evidence must be examined to determine which artists were then in the capital who might have assisted Wang Hui in this project. A concentration of collaborative works by Wang and a number of other southern painters dated to the years 1691–95 makes it clear that he recruited students and younger professionals from his home region to accompany him to Beijing.²⁹ Yang Jin and Gu Fang, his most frequent collaborators in these group works, were also



his two most prominent followers. Their role in the *Southern Inspection Tour* is confirmed by their biographies.³⁰ The other artists who participated in these collaborative works were all minor professional painters from the South: Wang Yun (1652–after 1735), a specialist in figures, architecture, and intricately detailed landscapes from Yangzhou;³¹ Xu Min (active ca. 1690–1722), a figure and flower painter from Suzhou who later collaborated on *The Kangxi Emperor's Sixtieth Birthday Celebration*;³² Yu Yuan (active ca. 1681–1715), a specialist in bird-and-flower painting from Yangzhou who made his home in Changshu and was a pupil of Wang Hui;³³ and Wu Zang, an otherwise unknown artist. The fact that Song Junye was also a frequent contributor adds to the likelihood that these collaborative works were an outgrowth of this group's participation in the *Southern Inspection Tour* project.

Collaborative works were one way in which Wang Hui could develop the skills of his assistants and foster a more cohesive painting style. *Landscapes after Ancient Masters*, an album of sixteen paintings dated to the seventh lunar month of 1692, elucidates how Wang and his disciples worked together. The album, which includes leaves by Wang Hui, Yang Jin, Xu Min (fig. 84), Gu Fang (fig. 85), and Wang Yun, shows the artists studying and copying a specific corpus of models.³⁴ In this way Wang Hui molded his disciples' artistic development and defined a uniform stylistic standard for the *Southern Inspection Tour*.

While many artists contributed to the *Southern Inspection Tour*, it is clear from Wang Hui's biography that he served as the master artist who supervised and coordinated the others:

From everywhere lofty talents and skilled artists were assembled in the capital. All mixed ink, moistened their brushstips, spread out the silk, looked at each other and racked their brains, not daring to start painting and waiting for Mr. Wang to speak. The master, dressed in hermit's garb, sat

Fig. 86. Draft Scroll Ten: detail, underdrawing for mules. Palace Museum, Beijing

Fig. 87. Wang Hui (1632–1717) and assistants. *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour*, Draft Scroll Eight, datable to 1694–95. Detail, emperor's presence indicated by parasol. Handscroll, ink and light color on paper, 25% in. × 64 ft. 5% in. (65.7 cm × 19.6 m). Palace Museum, Beijing

Fig. 88. Draft Scroll Ten: detail, repainted horse. Palace Museum, Beijing

Fig. 89. Draft Scroll Eight: detail, amended figures. Palace Museum, Beijing

on a dais and assumed leadership. He stared straight ahead, concentrated for a long time, and finally specified composition and execution, saying: "Here we place towns, there we place mountains and rivers, here people are waiting for the imperial traveler, the entourage looks like this, imperial resting places like that, and here is the emperor himself in procession." Mr. Wang led the work, painted here and there over the whole stretch of varied landscapes until the entire work was ready. The artists followed his directions, and now and again Mr. Wang added some strokes of extraordinary beauty. When the pictures were finished, they were shown to the emperor.³⁵

The suggestion in the biography that Wang Hui's primary task was laying out the composition and providing stylistic guidelines for his assistants is confirmed by several extant draft scrolls (*dingben* or *fuben*) done on paper prior to the execution of the finished scrolls on silk.³⁶ These drafts constitute the earliest and fullest evidence of the way in which important large-scale imperial commissions were carried out.

In spite of their high degree of finish, the draft scrolls provided only a general guideline for the finished paintings. Differences in composition and content reflect a continued process of refinement and embellishment on the part of Wang Hui and his assistants. Some changes may also represent the artists' response to the wishes of their patrons.

The draft scrolls are almost as large as the finished versions but are executed in ink and pale colors on paper. The blank sheets of paper were first mounted together to facilitate the creation of a continuous composition.³⁷ Major elements of the composition were initially sketched in charcoal or light ink. Once the outlines were laid out, ink and color washes were used to depict the landscape. Important landscape passages—major rock formations and trees—were painted by Wang Hui himself, less important passages probably by assistants. Figures were added next. A detail of the mule train approaching the city gate of Jurong (fig. 86) shows that they were often sketched in charcoal before being drawn in ink. These figures do not resemble the ones in Wang Hui's signed paintings and are thus probably also the work of assistants. Serving primarily as placeholders, they are mostly stock types that lack the variations of

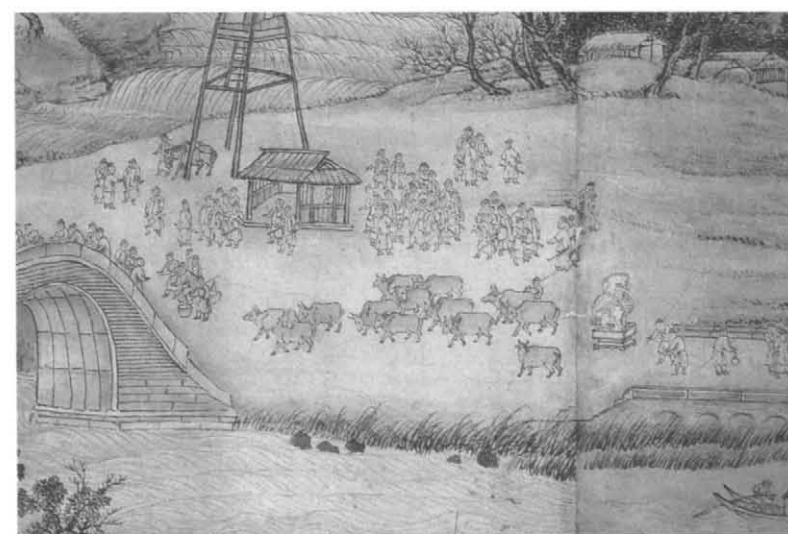


Fig. 90. Draft Scroll Eight: detail, cutout of a boat pasted onto the scroll. Palace Museum, Beijing

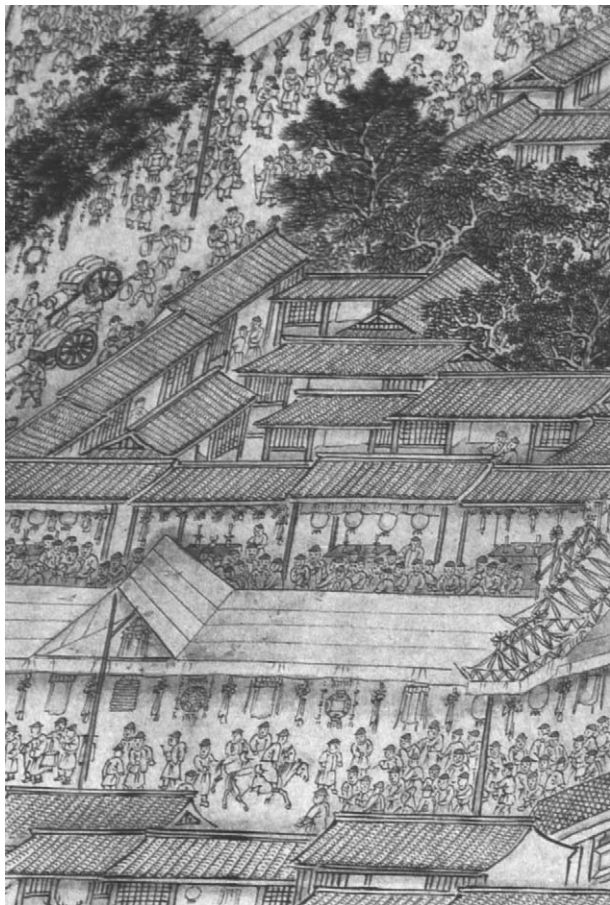
Figs. 91, 92. Draft Scroll Eight: details of left and right borders of replaced section, indicating different hands on either side of seam lines. Palace Museum, Beijing



Fig. 93. Scroll Three: underdrawing for landscape (detail, pl. 49)



Fig. 94. Scroll Three: underdrawing for figures (detail, pl. 49)



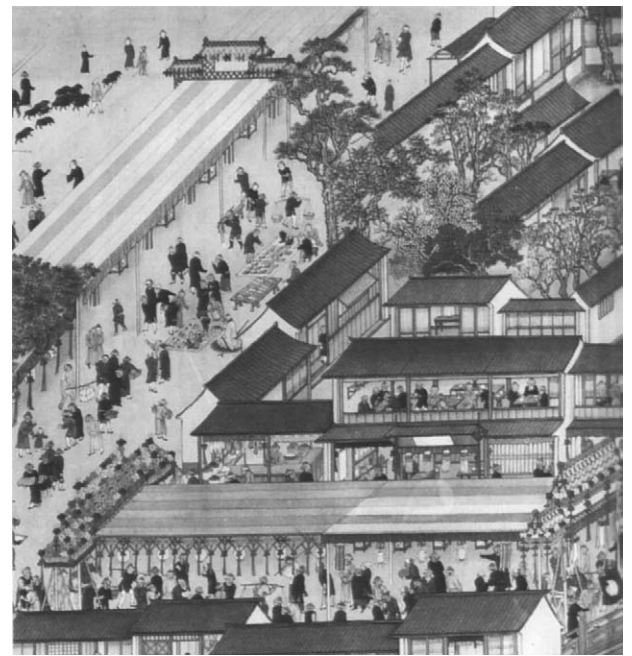
pose, costume, and color characteristic of figures in the finished version. The emperor is not depicted at all, his position being denoted only by the royal parasol (fig. 87).

The presence of additions and corrections to these drafts indicates that one or more artistic supervisors continued to review and amend the character of the work as it progressed. In the draft of Scroll Ten the figure of a horse has been redone by masking out the original image with white paint and drawing over it (fig. 88). In the one for Scroll Eight figures have been amended (fig. 89) and boats added (fig. 90) by pasting the new images on top of the original drawing. Site names were inserted the same way using inscribed slips of yellow paper. For larger changes, entire segments of the composition could be redone. One short section of the Scroll Eight draft is a replacement drawn by a different artist from the one who executed the landscape passages to either side (figs. 91, 92).

Once Kangxi or Song Junye had approved the final drafts, Wang Hui and his assistants could proceed with the execution of the finished version (*zhengben*). First the main components of the design had to be sketched in charcoal onto the blank silk (fig. 93). Even figures were sometimes sketched out prior to being finished in ink and color (fig. 94). Wang may

Fig. 95. Draft Scroll Ten: detail, trees in courtyard. Palace Museum, Beijing

Fig. 96. Wang Hui (1632–1717) and assistants. *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour*, Scroll Ten (detail, trees in street), datable to 1698. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk, 26 3/4 in. × 83 ft. 11 1/2 in. (67.8 cm × 25.6 m). Palace Museum, Beijing





have himself painted key features, which became spatial markers for his assistants as they filled in the rest of the landscape or cityscape. The consistency with which the finished version follows the draft in the placement and depiction of trees shows that these elements were among the first to be painted in the finished scroll. Sometimes such spatial markers are not perfectly integrated with other elements: in Scroll Ten, a pair of tall trees located within an interior courtyard in the draft (fig. 95) ends up in the street in the finished scroll (fig. 96).

The treatment of space is consistently simpler and clearer in the finished version. In Scroll Ten, for example, the triangular pattern of streets between the Tongji Gate and the Qinhuai River is common to both versions, but the jumble of roofs and houses in the draft (fig. 97) has been tied together into a smaller number of interrelated compounds in the finished scroll (fig. 98). The change is especially noticeable in the handling of the large garden at the center of the triangle. A tall garden rock, barely

visible in the draft (fig. 99), has become the unifying center of the compound in the finished version—a vivid azurite accent surrounded by an array of logically connected halls that reads as a single complex (fig. 100).

The simplification and patternization of the setting in the finished version focus attention on the figures, the main bearers of the narrative. This emphasis on figures is often reinforced by an up-turned ground plane. In the cityscape described above, the degree of uplifting is most apparent along the left-hand edge of the triangle: in the draft the Qinhuai River extends into the distance as far as the Lishe Bridge (fig. 97); in the finished version the bridge is out of sight beyond the upper margin of the painting (fig. 98).

The draft scrolls still show traces of the process by which Wang Hui fit together the separate images provided by his various sources, while the finished version is consistently more polished. The composition is more coherent, individual sites are better

Top left: Fig. 97. Draft Scroll Ten: detail of Nanjing, near Tongji Gate. Palace Museum, Beijing

Bottom left: Fig. 98. Scroll Ten: detail of Nanjing, near Tongji Gate. Palace Museum, Beijing

Top right: Fig. 99. Draft Scroll Ten: detail, garden with rock. Palace Museum, Beijing

Bottom right: Fig. 100. Scroll Ten: detail, garden with rock. Palace Museum, Beijing



Fig. 101. Draft Scroll Ten: detail, Cockcrow Mountain. Palace Museum, Beijing

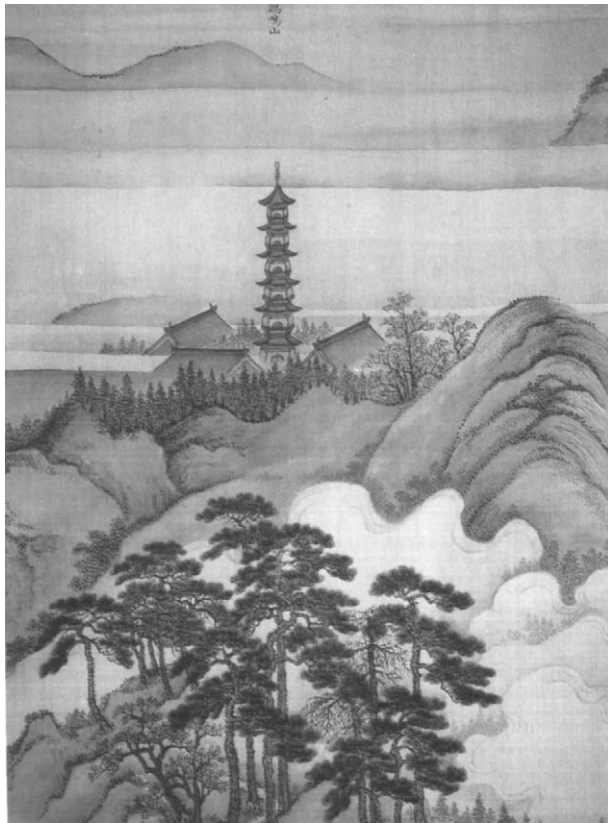


Fig. 102. Scroll Ten: detail, Cockcrow Mountain. Palace Museum, Beijing

integrated into the painting, and the production process is less apparent. In the draft of Scroll Ten the temple on Cockcrow Mountain, shown in a diagrammatic fashion, reflects the conventional site plan that served as Wang Hui's initial model (fig. 101). But this view of the temple, as if seen from a lofty vantage point, is inconsistent with the draft's more frontal depiction of foreground houses. In the finished version, the disjunction in the representation of space

has been corrected (fig. 102). The temple has been elevated and shown from a more level perspective, while the near-ground scene is presented as if seen from a high vantage point to allow more room for the dramatically important figures.

Thus, compositional changes between the draft and finished version occur not only to clarify spatial relationships but also to intensify the drama. In the final section of Scroll Eleven, which depicts Kangxi's journey down the Yangzi River to the island temple of Jin Shan, the draft shows Jin Shan surrounded by other sites (fig. 103),³⁸ but the finished version ends with a far more dramatic view of Jin Shan in isolation, silhouetted against a vast expanse of water (fig. 104).

Occasionally, significant changes in content occur between the draft and finished version. In the depiction of the Parade Field in Scroll Ten, the draft shows the archery competition taking place among foot soldiers (fig. 105), as the event is described in the *Diaries*.³⁹ In the finished version, however, mounted archers demonstrate their skills (fig. 106). Kangxi did sponsor a mounted archery competition in Hangzhou, so this change represents a conflation of events; the artists simply distorted reality to maximize pictorial drama. The finished version consistently provides a greater range of visual information, as Wang Hui was able to take advantage of his assistants' skills to enrich the basic narrative presented in the draft. The Parade Field featured in Scroll Ten is significantly bigger in the finished version and has been embellished with a larger audience.

The negative impact of Wang Hui's assistants is apparent in the many differences between the draft and the finished version in the style and quality of execution of landscape details. Wang Hui's draft, drawn on paper not silk, is freer and more spontaneous. Wang achieves a personal, sketchlike appearance by employing a wide range of dry and wet ink tones and by fully exploiting the calligraphic potential of the brush. Ink tonalities are less varied in the finished version, and there is a marked hardening of line. Contours become more emphatic and texture strokes more mechanical. In the draft tree trunks and foliage dots are built up to suggest the organic structure and texture of living trees (fig. 107); in the finished version trees often appear schematic, becoming flat space fillers that lack any sense of three-dimensionality (fig. 108). Rock outcrops in the draft are structured from contour lines that are overlain with light and dark texture strokes and moss dots to create a rich sense of faceted, weathered stone (fig. 109). Although the outcrops preserve their basic configuration in the



Fig. 103. Wáng Hui (1632–1717) and assistants. *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour*, Draft Scroll Eleven (detail, Jin Shan), datable to 1694–95. Handscroll, ink and light color on paper, 26 3/8 in. × 66 ft. 7 1/4 in. (67 cm × 20.3 m). Shenyang Palace Museum



Fig. 104. Wáng Hui (1632–1717) and assistants. *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour*, Scroll Eleven (detail, Jin Shan), datable to 1698. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk, 26 3/8 in. × 75 ft. 10 7/8 in. (67.8 cm × 23.1 m). Palace Museum, Beijing

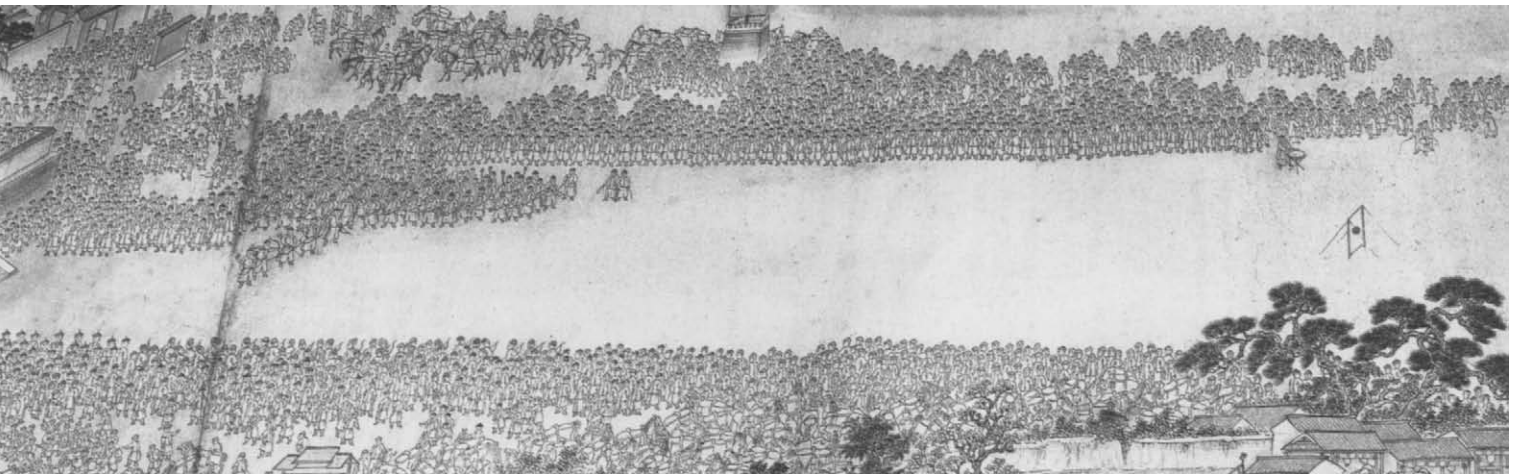


Fig. 105. Draft Scroll Ten: detail showing parade field with archers. Palace Museum, Beijing



Fig. 106. Scroll Ten: detail showing parade field with mounted archers. Palace Museum, Beijing

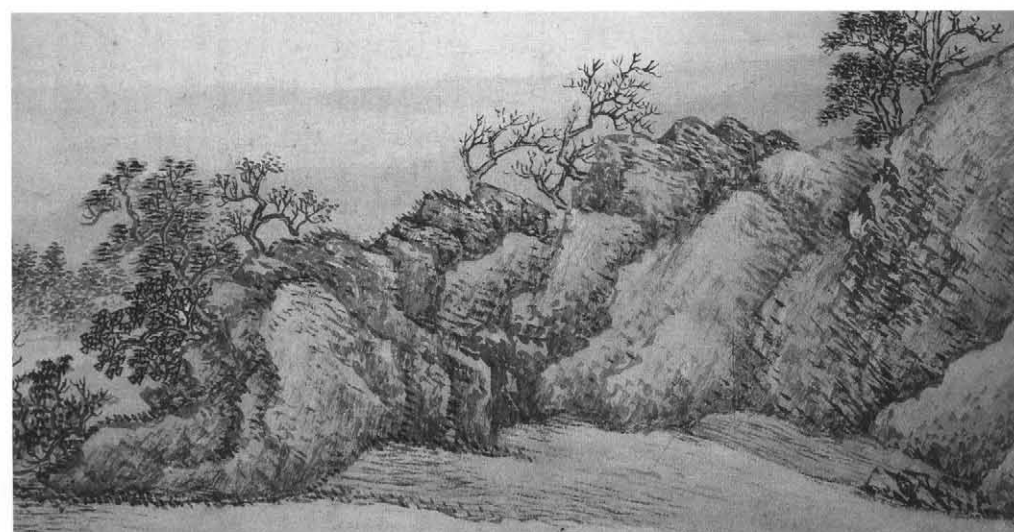
Fig. 107. Draft Scroll Ten:
detail, foliage dots. Palace
Museum, Beijing



Fig. 108. Scroll Ten: detail,
schematic trees. Palace
Museum, Beijing



Fig. 109. Draft Scroll Ten:
detail, texture strokes. Palace
Museum, Beijing



finished version, their contour lines become stiffer, often reinforced by the repetitive application of moss dots that give the outlines a hard, carved appearance. The sense of surface textures—gritty faceted stones and earthen slopes—in the draft is replaced by a patternized skein of intersecting contour lines or flat applications of wash or mineral color (fig. 110). The blurry ink-wash texture dots of the draft (fig. 111) have been transformed into tighter, more mechanical lines arrayed like the parallel grooves of a washboard (fig. 112). Such changes reflect the transformation of Wang Hui's personal style into a series of brush conventions that could be readily repeated by his assistants. The result is that forms become more abstract: energized individual brushstrokes are replaced by flat pattern.

While Wang Hui's landscape style suffers from formalization and homogenization in its workshop interpretation, the participation of skilled craftsmen benefited the labor-intensive depictions of architecture and figures, which are finished with great technical virtuosity. Figures in the draft scrolls are limited



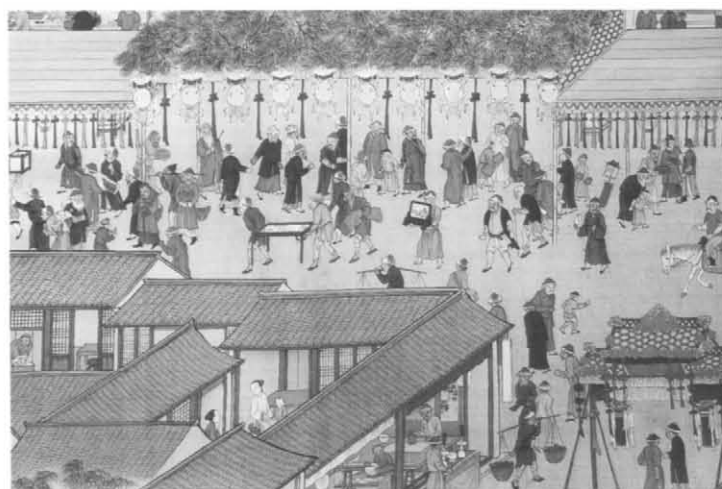
Fig. 110. Scroll Three: texture strokes (detail, pl. 49)



Fig. 111. Draft Scroll Eight: detail, blurry ink-wash texture dots. Palace Museum, Beijing



Fig. 112. Wang Hui (1632–1717) and assistants. *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour*, Scroll Nine (detail, mechanical contour lines), datable to 1698. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk, 26 1/4 in. × 73 ft. 1 in. (67.8 cm × 22.3 m). Palace Museum, Beijing



to only two or three basic poses and lack distinctive features (fig. 113). The finished version remedies this by employing smaller figural groups whose interactions are meaningful and who are distinguished by variations in costume, age, pose, and the variety of burdens they carry (fig. 114). In the draft the figures interact in a limited way; minimal effort is expended in enriching narrative content (fig. 115). In the finished scrolls subsidiary dramatic situations are well developed (fig. 116), and keenly observed details of daily life abound (fig. 117). The varied costumes and color schemes of the figures make them more lively, more solid, less like cardboard cutouts. Compared with the figures in Song models such as Zhang Zeduan's *Spring Festival on the River* (fig. 118), these are conventionalized and cartoonlike, but the exaggeration in stance and gesture gives them tremendous energy and liveliness: not one is static or frozen in space. Movement and spirit are implicit in every pose.

The diagrammatic, sketchy architectural complexes of the drafts are similarly transformed in the finished scrolls into intricately detailed structures organized into abstract surface patterns. Typical is the cluster of houses inside the Jurong city wall in Scroll Ten. Both the draft (fig. 119) and the finished version (fig. 120) show seven houses in the left-hand corner of the town, but the spacing between them has been regularized in the finished version: the five fronting on the street are aligned in echelon so that the roofline of each is clearly silhouetted against the white wall of the preceding structure. The draft reflects the scholar-amateur approach to architecture, which is informal and even careless. The finished version is meticulous in the execution of these elements, but still mirrors scholarly taste and attitudes in the heightened abstraction of forms and diminished interest in realism. These shared concerns are apparent when the *Southern Inspection Tour* is compared with Zhang's *Spring Festival*. Song painting strives for spatial clarity; it pursues the creation of a convincing illusion of recession. Qing painting seeks compositional clarity; it visualizes space in terms of surface organization.

Fig. 113. Draft Scroll Ten: detail, figure "types." Palace Museum, Beijing

Fig. 114. Scroll Ten: detail, varied figures. Palace Museum, Beijing

Fig. 115. Draft Scroll Ten: detail reflecting minimal narrative content. Palace Museum, Beijing

Fig. 116. Scroll Ten: detail reflecting well-developed narrative. Palace Museum, Beijing

Wang Hui made draft scrolls of the *Southern Inspection Tour* to gain the approval of his patrons and guide his team of assistants. But these final drafts, incorporating solutions to most of the basic pictorial problems posed by the commission, could not have been the first step in the creation of the *Southern Inspection Tour*. Before the final draft, Wang Hui must have utilized a stage of rough sketches to conceptualize the form and appearance of the emperor's various activities, the changing configuration of his retinue, the sites he visited, the landscape through which he passed, and the cities where he stayed. Although these earliest drafts (*gaoben*) do not survive, the initial stages of Wang's creative process can be reconstructed by examining the sources to which the artist himself must have turned for inspiration.

Wang's first challenge was to divide the emperor's itinerary into manageable pictorial units. The basic narrative structure of the painting was established by the sequence of dates and places in the *Diaries* account, but Wang superimposed his own dramatic structure upon the simple time and space coordinates given there. Taking the principal activities of Kangxi as his starting point, he divided the journey into twelve scrolls.⁴⁰ Once the dramatic focus of each scroll had been determined, Wang could then manipulate the remainder of the itinerary—emphasizing or abbreviating portions of the route—to enhance each scroll's dramatic impact while preserving the illusion of comprehensive coverage. The spatial and temporal frames of each scroll were determined primarily by the need to highlight the emperor and his actions. As a result, scrolls do not encompass equal units of time or distance, but vary in the amount of the itinerary they cover from half a day and a few miles to four or five days and nearly 124 miles (200 kilometers).

After Wang had apportioned the route among his twelve scrolls, he needed to visualize the journey, a task that involved the integration of several layers of information. First and foremost, Wang had to create a coherent narrative structure that would focus on



Fig. 117. Scroll Ten: detail, street life. Palace Museum, Beijing

Fig. 118. Zhang Zeduan (active early 12th century). *Spring Festival on the River* (detail, street life). Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 9 3/4 in. × 17 ft. 4 in. (24.8 × 528.7 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing

Fig. 119. Draft Scroll Ten: detail, cluster of houses, Jurong. Palace Museum, Beijing

Fig. 120. Scroll Ten: detail, cluster of houses, Jurong. Palace Museum, Beijing



Fig. 121. Unidentified artist (Southern Song dynasty, 13th century). *Ten Thousand Miles along the Yangzi River* (detail, opening section). Handscroll, ink on silk, 17 ¼ in. × 54 ft. 3 ¼ in. (43.7 cm × 16.5 m). Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Gift of Charles Lang Freer (F1911.168)

Kangxi's principal activities during his tour. This structure is manifested in the painting by the series of labeled sites identifying Kangxi's stopping places and the major landmarks he passed.

Second, Wang Hui had to conceptualize the landscape of the tour route in a way that would maintain the illusion of topographic verisimilitude. Unlike his imaginary landscapes, which had no need to conform to actual locales, the *Southern Tour* scrolls had to convincingly represent a vast segment of the Chinese empire. And, while the emperor's diary might provide the name of each night's stopping place, it gave few clues as to the nature of the scenery. To construct a plausible topographic structure, Wang Hui had to conflate four types of available information: the *Diaries* account of the emperor's stopping places, features of various regional terrains, political boundaries, and distinctive landmarks. The need for a certain level of specificity in recording details of the route meant that Wang Hui must have turned to cartographic and topographic images to fill in the lacunae left by the diary's terse account. Primary among these would have been earlier maps or woodblock illustrations found in gazetteers and pictorial encyclopedias. To further insure their recognizability, each important site in the painting was identified by a label and each scroll contained a preface summarizing the emperor's whereabouts and principal activities in that segment of his journey.

Third, Wang Hui had to provide a temporal structure for the journey. To accomplish this, he introduced numerous seasonal markers that give the illusion of a uniform progression of time and form a backdrop to the human activity chronicled in the scrolls. The *Southern Inspection Tour* presents a temporal continuum that moves from the bleak, leafless

scenery of the New Year to the blossoms and new life of late spring, from the cold dry scenery of the North to the verdant, well-watered landscape of the Jiangnan region.

Once the narrative, topographic, and temporal requirements of the painting were worked out, Wang had to subsume them within a coherent and dramatic pictorial structure. Individual sites were first given pictorial form and next arranged as a sequence of vignettes or narrative episodes, which were then connected with passages of generalized landscape scenery. The resulting structure of specific sites embedded within a broader topographic matrix was organized within a larger compositional pattern, usually the tripartite schema of classical landscape painting. This is where Wang's experience in creating panoramic landscapes was invaluable. Each scroll could be a variation on a theme: a mountainscape, a riverscape, or a cityscape unified by the tour route—a road, a river, or the canal. For each landscape type Wang could rely on earlier models. Attributions to the eleventh-century master Yan Wengui (active ca. 970–1030) provided the quintessential prototypes for mountainscapes, with their winding paths and tiny travelers to guide one through the landscape (see fig. 60). Several extant early depictions of the Yangzi River would have provided examples of riverscapes. One such painting, *Ten Thousand Miles along the Yangzi River*, a long handscroll datable to the thirteenth century that follows the course of the river from Sichuan to Zhenjiang, even has one of Wang Hui's seals (fig. 121). As with the *Southern Inspection Tour*, this scroll bears numerous labels identifying landscape features and towns. Finally, Zhang Zeduan's *Spring Festival on the River* (figs. 118, 122), or one of its



many later imitations, would have been a useful source for cityscapes.⁴¹

SCROLL THREE: THE ETERNAL LANDSCAPE

Among the twelve scrolls that make up the *Southern Inspection Tour*, Scroll Three, which depicts the tour route from the capital of Shandong Province past Mount Tai to Mengyin, comes closest to being a pure depiction of landscape (pl. 49). The *Diaries* account of the action depicted in the scroll is brief. It notes that, after arriving in Jinan on the morning of February 5, Kangxi viewed some of the town's scenic sights, then departed that afternoon and traveled another sixteen miles (twenty-five kilometers) to the village of Zhangxia, where he spent the night. The next day the emperor arrived at Mount Tai, where he once again displayed his veneration for this sacred deity by leading "civil and military officials in performing a ceremony" at the Eastern Peak Temple (Dong Yue Miao) in the town of Tai'an.⁴² After leaving Tai'an, Kangxi passed the next five days uneventfully as he proceeded southward toward the Yellow River.

The preface to Scroll Three magnifies those aspects of the tour that show Kangxi to be a virtuous monarch: the rejoicing people of Jinan and Tai'an and the auspicious signs surrounding his ritual homage to Mount Tai:

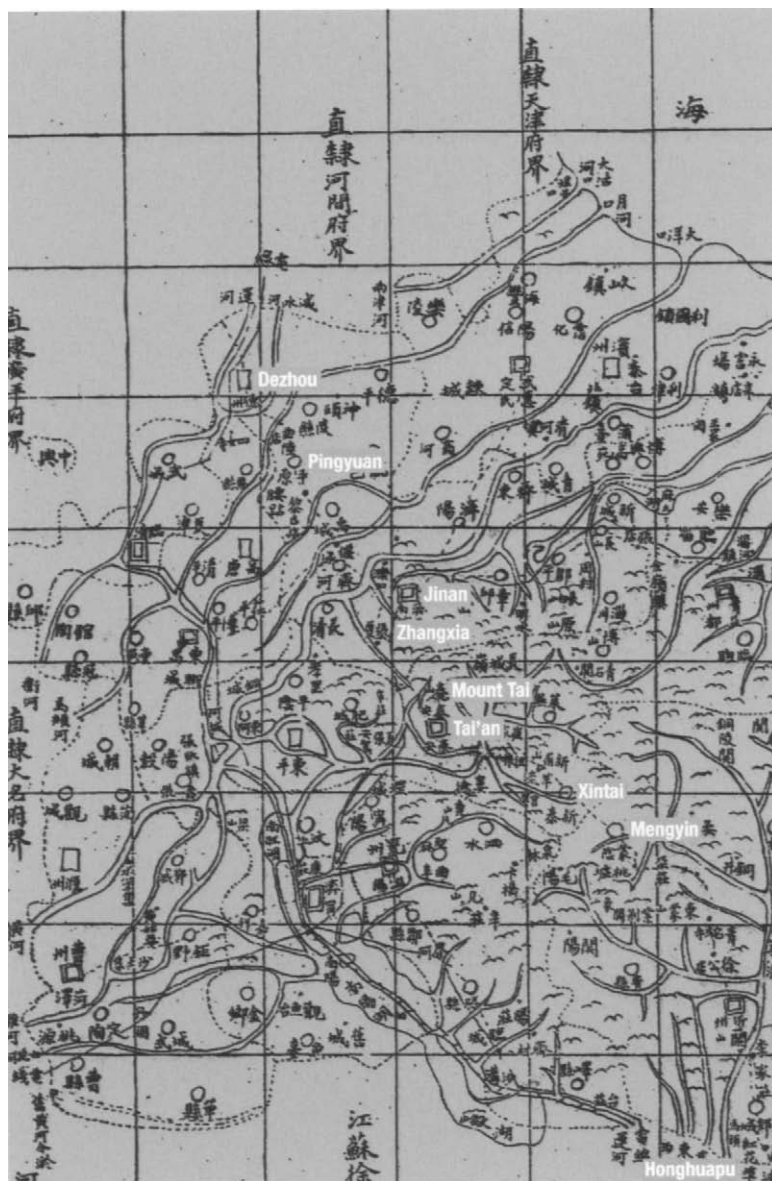
The third scroll respectfully depicts His Majesty during his stopover in Jinan, when he ascended the city wall to make his inspection. The entire populace raised their hands to their foreheads in salutation and rejoiced to behold the imperial countenance. Next, the imperial procession traveled on by mountain roads until it arrived at Tai'an Prefecture. His

Majesty then specially led all of the officials in his retinue in a ceremony to honor Mount Tai. At that time, the spirit of the mountain manifested auspicious signs: the serried peaks stood forth and the cloud-cloaked trees presented an elegant scene, while the elders of Tai'an filled the streets with song and dance. The grandeur of Mount Tai, with the incredible winding mountain paths of this area of Lu, is only roughly sketched here in "red and green"; regrettably, we lack the ability to describe even a minute part of its magnificence.

Neither the *Diaries* nor the preface account provides much information that would help Wang Hui to visualize the landscape. To create a "recognizable" topographic structure, he relied heavily on the cartographic features recorded by contemporary maps of Shandong Province (map 3) and Changqing District (map 4). According to the provincial map, the mountainous region of central Shandong begins just south of Jinan, three rivers bisect the region between Jinan and Tai'an, and Mount Tai is situated directly north of the prefectural city. The district map adds more information: it shows a slightly different configuration of rivers, indicates the main route between Jinan and Tai'an, and includes the principal settlements along the way. The landscape features in Wang Hui's painting reflect the disposition of towns, rivers, and mountainous terrain presented in these maps.

The painting opens with a "level-distance" (*pingyuan*, 平遠) view over the rooftops of Jinan and the marshy countryside to the north. While this is a typical beginning for a panoramic landscape, it also reflects the actual topography of the area north of Jinan as shown on the provincial map, which includes the town of Pingyuan (Level Plain, 平原), through which Kangxi had passed on the preceding day. A group

Fig. 122. Zhang Zeduan (active early 12th century). *Spring Festival on the River*, detail (see fig. 118)



Map 3. Shandong Province (detail). After *Gazetteer of Shandong Province* (*Shandong tongzhi*). Shanghai, 1934; reprint of 1915 edition

of oxen, including a mother licking a newborn calf, and the pale red dots of leaf buds sprouting from the lowland trees are harbingers of warmer weather as well as indications of the procession's progress toward a more southerly clime. In the foreground, members of Kangxi's military escort are saddling up in preparation for their imminent departure. Groups of villagers have left their houses and are gazing toward the city wall, where Kangxi, accompanied by his bodyguards in yellow tunics, surveys the city from horseback. The last members of his vanguard emerge from Jinan's South Gate and proceed into the mountains.

Where the roadway enters the mountains, the perspective abruptly shifts from the "level-distance" view of Jinan to a "high-distance" (*gaoyuan*) vista of towering peaks, a change in terrain confirmed by both the provincial and district maps. Wang Hui shows the roadway out of town passing a temple and a cluster of houses beside a watchtower (the Huangshan Dian and Fogong Dian of the district map?) before coming to a river spanned by a bridge. Beyond the river, the first

depicted on the maps, the route passes through a village in which a small shrine is labeled as the Opening in the Mountains Temple (Kaishan Si), clearly identifying it with the town of Kaishan on the district map (pl. 50). Members of the emperor's advance party file through the town accompanied by three camels laden with the poles, staves, and gear used in constructing his tent—a reminder that whenever no suitable accommodations could be found, Kangxi could provide his own. A large river spanned by a camelback bridge, a typical southern construction that is a curious anomaly in the high mountains, functions as a link between two rocky prominences and, by extension, the two halves of this compositional section.

Passing over the river, the party next encounters a mountain settlement (Gushan?) with a stream flowing into the foreground, then skirts around another village (Shiwo?), and crosses another river before entering the township of Zhangxia, where Kangxi spent the night of February 5.⁴³ Except for the addition of two extra streams, this configuration of



Map 4. Changqing District. After
Gazetteer of Jinan Prefecture (*Jinan fuzhi*),
p. 38b; facsimile of 1840 edition, p. 122

towns and waterways corresponds closely to what is shown on the maps. In Zhangxia, members of the vanguard share the road with mule drivers and porters. Inside the town one rider pauses to accept a cup of water while his horse drinks from a wooden trough. Everywhere people have moved altar tables into the roadway to welcome the emperor.

Beyond Zhangxia a large river valley bisects the scroll while a mountain stream flows out of the background near the place where the roadway emerges in front of Mount Tai (pl. 51). The provincial map shows one crossing, the district map two, between Zhangxia and Tai'an. No bridge spans this gulf. The roadway disappears below the lower margin of the painting; when it emerges on the other side, it is already some distance above the level of the river. The momentary absence of road and figures removes the need to shift into a larger, foreground scale and allows the middle-ground and far-distance peaks to dominate the composition. The viewer remains at a high and somewhat distant vantage point that is

appropriate for taking in the full enormity of the mountains to come.

Figures are now greatly reduced in scale to accentuate Mount Tai's immensity. As the roadway again passes out of sight along a rocky defile, the viewer encounters a scene from which all reference to human scale has vanished. One range of mountains follows another, climbing ever higher until, for the first time, the highest peaks touch or extend beyond the painting's upper margin. Only then do human figures reappear as the roadway reemerges from a mist-filled ravine at the very bottom of the composition.

Mount Tai now confronts the viewer in all its majesty, stretching upward the full height of the scroll and spreading outward for more than six feet, nearly the full length of what might normally be unrolled at one time. The mountain's tremendous size is emphasized by the changing scale of the pilgrims making the ascent. The figures decrease in height from about 1 inch (2.5 centimeters) at the base of the mountain to less than ¼ inch (.6 centimeters) near the summit.



Zhangxia



Mengyin

Pl. 49 (cat. 23). *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour, Scroll Three: Jinan to Mount Tai*, datable to 1698. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 26 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. $\times$ 45 ft. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (67.8 cm $\times$ 13.9 m). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, The Dillon Fund Gift, 1979 (1979.5)



Jinan



Opening in the Mountains Temple



Tai'an

Mount Tai



Pl. 50. Scroll Three: detail, Opening in the Mountains Temple





Pl. 51. Scroll Three: detail, Mount Tai and Tai'an





Fig. 123. Huang Gongwang (1269–1354). *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* (detail), dated 1350. Handscroll, ink on paper, 13 in. × 20 ft. 10 in. (33 × 636.9 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei

Up to this point, the right-to-left horizontal movement of the scroll corresponds to a north-to-south movement on the maps. Following this pattern, Mount Tai should appear first in the scroll, followed by Tai'an, which lies on the south side of the mountain. But Wang Hui's desire to present a frontal view of the sacred peak demanded that he rotate the north-south axis of the painting so that it is momentarily perpendicular to the lateral axis. In this way, the mountain could be visualized from its most characteristic "frontal" face, with Tai'an at its feet. To permit this pictorial license, Wang isolated his reoriented mountain with banks of mist that indicate a spatial discontinuity.

Schematically presented as a rectangular compound, the city of Tai'an appears toylike before the looming mountain. Inside the city wall another walled compound enclosing an elaborate hall represents the Temple to the Deity of Mount Tai (Dai Miao), where Kangxi conducted his ceremony reverencing the spirit of the Eastern Sacred Peak.⁴⁴ In spite of the temple's importance to the narrative, both it and the city of Tai'an are merely token presences beside the towering mountain. At the archway marking the starting point of the sacred way leading to the summit, a welcoming committee of Daoist priests has gathered around an altar, as members of the vanguard confer with local officials and bearers stand ready to carry people up the mountain in open palanquins.⁴⁵

Mount Tai is the finale of Scroll Three; beyond the mountain, the route is radically truncated. It took Kangxi two more days to travel from Tai'an to Mengyin, but this segment of the journey is reduced to a brief coda following the crescendo of Mount Tai. The final city to appear in the scroll, Mengyin, stands beside a river, just as it does on the provincial map, but Xintai, where Kangxi spent the previous night, is omitted. Clearly, the length of Wang Hui's painting does not correspond to the actual distances covered. Space is expanded or contracted as needed to highlight important sites or to enhance the narrative and pictorial drama. The scroll ends with a broad watery expanse that may correspond to the rivers flowing southward

from Mengyin toward Honghuapu, the starting point of Scroll Four. The landscape features in the last section of the scroll have more to do, however, with how to end a monumental landscape panorama than with the actual topography of the tour. Thus, once Wang Hui anchored his composition within a cartographic framework, he was free to elaborate landscape passages to enhance the drama of his narrative. And Wang seized this opportunity to sum up all that he had learned about the monumental landscape style of the Northern Song (960–1127), combining the brush idioms of Juran, Fan Kuan, and Yan Wengui with the archaic "blue-and-green" style associated with Tang dynasty painters.

In the final section Wang Hui introduces a new idea. The image of Mount Meng rising all by itself from a low plain, coupled with a vista of receding hills arching around an expanse of water, vividly recalls the ending of *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*, painted in 1350 by Huang Gongwang (1269–1354) (fig. 123), a quintessential depiction of the Jiangnan landscape. This reference to a southern landscape by a southern artist, coming as it does after Wang's interpretation of the classic northern monumental landscape manner, celebrates the ascendancy of southern culture and artists that began in the late Song and Yuan periods. It also anticipates the powerful impact of this heritage on Kangxi as he traveled deeper into the heartland of this region.

Just as styles are conflated, space and time are again manipulated to suit Wang Hui's dramatic structure. The painting encompasses about 124 miles (200 kilometers) of the tour route, a distance that Kangxi covered in three and a half days, but the first half-day's travel from Jinan to Zhangxia occupies more than two-thirds of the scroll's length. This gives Wang a maximum amount of space in which to demonstrate his virtuosity as he builds up to Mount Tai, the scroll's finale. The great Eastern Peak dominates the last third of the painting; consequently, the second half of Kangxi's journey from Tai'an to Mengyin is compressed into one-eighth of the scroll's length.

Mount Tai, the tallest point in eastern China, is the archetypal mountain form encompassed in the *Southern Inspection Tour*. Because of its cosmic stature and its symbolic importance for Kangxi, its depiction in the *Southern Inspection Tour* presented a great challenge. Wang Hui was not merely representing a mountain, he was portraying a paradigm for all mountains. Its appearance had to be not only majestic and dramatic but also iconographically accurate. To meet the latter requirement, Wang Hui certainly would have sought out earlier illustrations of the peak. The schematic character of his depiction and its similarity to earlier woodblock illustrations indicate that he took one or more of these images as a model. There were many such models in earlier pictorial sources such as the *History of Mount Tai* (*Dai shi*) of 1587 (fig. 124) and the *Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Three Realms* (*Sancai tubui*) of 1607 (fig. 125); the much later *Gazetteer of Mount Tai* (*Tai Shan zhi*) of 1898 also included one (fig. 126). All three of these sources present Mount Tai as a broad, triangular configuration of peaks, with the walled city of Tai'an at its base, a winding path up the middle, and water courses flowing out of the right and left (east and west) sides. Wang Hui's interpretation contains each of these general features.

Mount Tai's appearance in Scroll Three is arresting. Wang's blue-and-green palette, while evoking visions of paradise or an idyllic golden age, is also iconographically appropriate for the depiction of Tai, which is sometimes referred to as the Green Mountain because of the association of that color with the eastern quadrant. Facing south in a frontal view, the mountain is "posed" as a formal portrait of the emperor would be. After the lateral progression of mountains and valleys in the first half of the scroll, this frontal image brings leftward movement momentarily to a halt. The serpentine roadway that weaves around the axis connecting the Dai Temple at the foot of the mountain with the temple at its summit only serves to reinforce its importance. The southward orientation and axial centrality of this view stress the mountain's cosmic stature. Tai'an follows the standard cartographic schema for a city, in which the north and south gates and the major structures are presented in frontal elevation while the elevations of the side gates face inward. The southward orientation and axial centrality of this view stress the mountain's cosmic stature. Tai'an follows the standard cartographic schema for a city, in which the north and south gates and the major structures are presented in frontal elevation while the elevations of the side gates face inward.

Although Wang relied on a woodblock model to give his image iconographic accuracy, he returned to the monumental landscape vernacular of the Northern Song master Fan Kuan (ca. 960–ca. 1030) to describe the flesh and skin of the mountain. Wang did not, however, merely copy the simplified outlines of



Fig. 124. "Single-frame"-mode woodblock illustration of Mount Tai. From *History of Mount Tai* (*Dai shi*), preface dated 1587; reprinted with recut blocks in 1654



Fig. 125. "Single-frame"-mode woodblock illustration of Mount Tai. From *Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Three Realms* (*Sancai tubui*), facsimile reproduction of 1607 edition, *dili* (geography), chap. 8, pp. 3–4

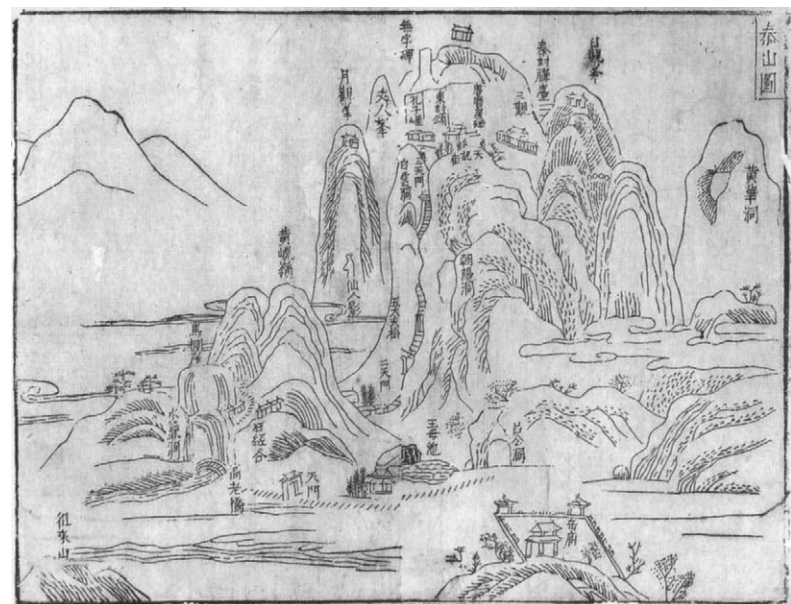
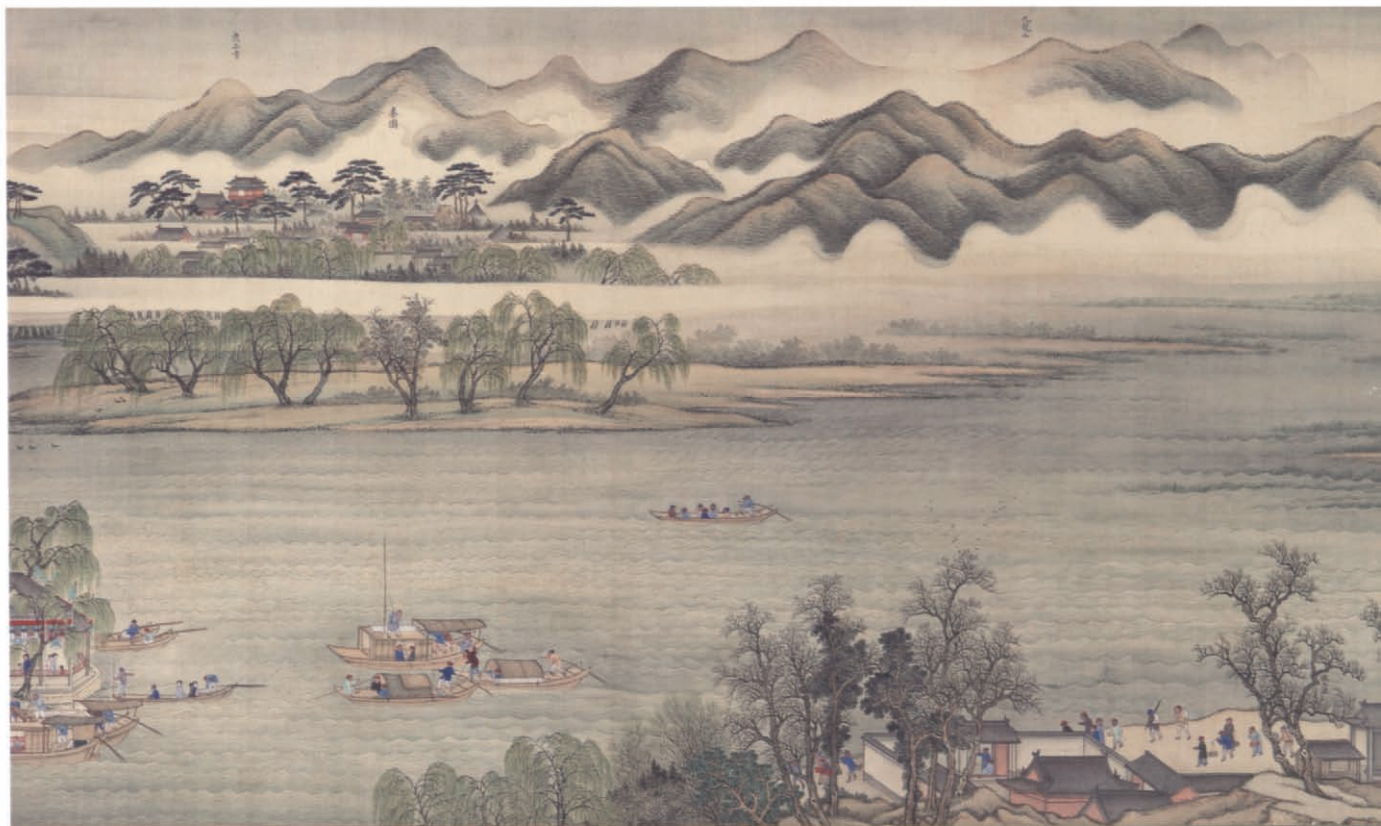


Fig. 126. "Single-frame"-mode woodblock illustration of Mount Tai. From *Gazetteer of Mount Tai* (*Tai Shan zhi*), preface dated 1898, chap. 4, pp. 2b–3a



the woodblock then fill them in with Fan Kuan-style “raindrop” texture dots (*yudian*). To invigorate the flat surface pattern of his model, he had to reinterpret the diagram: he literally rebuilt the mountain by piling up small dynamic rock forms into a single, coherent design known as a “dragon vein” (*longmai*).⁴⁶ In Fan Kuan’s *Travelers amid Streams and Mountains* (see fig. 16), picture elements are segregated into compositionally distinct foreground, middle-ground, and far-distance components. While Wang Hui alludes to this classic “three distances” formula in the progressively smaller scale of his trees and figures, he makes almost no attempt to create an illusion of recession. His energized brushwork and assertive landscape forms simultaneously suggest three-dimensional form and sit flatly on the picture surface, resulting in an image that pulses with abstract kinetic force. The great S-shaped contour of the roadway and central ridgeline form the “dragon vein” of the mountain—the integrating compositional pattern that ties the competing landscape forms into a single, sweeping movement drawing the eye upward to the summit.

By using this method to build up his mountain, Wang Hui was able to greatly expand the scale of Mount Tai and emphasize its iconic character by giving it three distinct peaks, a configuration that recalls the most ancient pictographic form of *shan* (山, “mountain”), which shows a “host” peak flanked by two subsidiary “guest” peaks.

SCROLL SEVEN: THE URBAN-AGRARIAN CONTINUUM OF JIANGNAN

In contrast to Scroll Three, with its mountainous landscape, Scroll Seven treats the watery lowlands and cityscapes of Jiangnan, culminating with the great metropolis of Suzhou, the economic and cultural capital of Kangxi’s empire (pl. 52A–E). Suzhou’s tradition as an intellectual center made it a key city for the recruitment of officials; its great wealth significantly subsidized government revenues, both through general taxes and through the income generated for the imperial household by its silk monopoly. Scroll Seven celebrates this major urban center.⁴⁷ The preface focuses on the tumultuous reception that Kangxi received in the city:

The seventh scroll respectfully depicts His Majesty’s travels from Wuxi through Hushuguan to the Chang Gate of Suzhou, where, seeing the throngs of people crowding the streets and narrow waterways, he specially reduced the size of the honor guard [accompanying him] into the city. Officials, gentry, and commoners, even white-haired old men and small children, all were moved by the emperor’s great favor; happily beating drums, burning incense, and hanging up bunting, they prostrated themselves on both sides of the streets to welcome him. The emperor’s stopover gave them a chance to behold [the personification of] a flourishing age; the sincerity of their love for him was clearly visible. Again and again, the people detained the emperor, offering him wine and fruit and singing hymns of praise. In painting this picture, it has been difficult



第七卷敬圖
 皇上自無錫縣經許墅關
 駕蒞蘇州之閭門見人民繁廛街衢湫隘
 特簡儀從入城縉紳士庶以及白叟黃童無不感
 沐
 深恩歡欣鼓舞焚香結綵夾道踴躍迎難幸往來
 駐蹕得觀
 堯天而愛戴之誠倍深踴躍留
 法從至再至三一時擊漿敲果呼嵩頌德之情繪
 圖難盡此皆我
 皇上軫念吳民蠲賦除租有加無已浹洽於人心
 所致也若夫虎丘一阜萬姓建亭紀盛恭祝
 萬壽並施之毫素云

Pl. 52A (cat 24). *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour, Scroll Seven: Wuxi to Suzhou*, datable to 1698 (preface and opening section). Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 26 3/4 in. × 72 ft. 1/2 in. (67.9 cm × 21.9 m). Mactaggart Art Collection, University of Alberta Museums, University of Alberta, Edmonton

to convey all these details. This is because our emperor has compassion for the people of Wu, remitting taxes, canceling rents, and so much more, thereby creating boundless goodwill in people's hearts. As for the fact that on a small prominence on Tiger Hill the people erected a pavilion to commemorate his largess and wish him longevity, it was also recorded [in this painting] with brush and silk.

The composition of Scroll Seven is divided into four sections corresponding to the four major sites visited by Kangxi on this segment of his tour: Wuxi, Hushuguan (a variant pronunciation is Xushuguan), Tiger Hill, and Suzhou. The first three sections, in which Wang Hui conveys something of the tremendous prosperity and abundance of the region surrounding Suzhou, form a long preamble to the emperor's climactic arrival in the great city.

The scroll opens just north of Wuxi with a view of the island temple of Huangpodun (present-day Huangbudun), where Kangxi spent the night of February 21. The next day, according to the travel diary of the high official Zhang Ying (1683–1708), Kangxi first made an excursion to the Qin Family Garden and the Huishan Spring before traveling thirty miles (forty-eight kilometers) to Suzhou.⁴⁸ Wang Hui was evidently familiar with Zhang's account because his painting features the Qin Garden, Huishan Temple, and Tin Mountain, topped by a tall pagoda in the distance behind Huangpodun.

Wuxi, schematically represented by a gateway, city wall, and two bridges leading into the suburbs, has been tremendously simplified in the painting, but it retains a recognizable "cartographic" identity. Wang Hui's depiction compares closely with a contemporary map of the city that shows the Grand Canal passing Huangbudun, then curving around the western side of Wuxi's city wall and flowing beneath two bridges located near the west and south gates.⁴⁹

Between Wuxi and Hushuguan, Wang shows the canal making a wide bend around the villages of Xin'an and Wangting. This arbitrary curve, which introduces a rural interlude between built-up urban areas and also divides the first two sections of the composition, is not an accurate topographic feature but a convention signaling a warping of time and space. Within this curve Wang Hui covers three-quarters of the distance between Wuxi and Suzhou in one-tenth of the length of the painting: Xin'an, located about a quarter of the way between Wuxi and Suzhou, is shown on the same peninsula with Wangting, which is located about halfway between the two cities; Hushuguan, three-quarters of the way to Suzhou, begins just beyond the peninsula on the other side of the canal. To disguise this compression of space, the line of travelers carrying the narrative thread is intentionally interrupted. The roadway leads the viewer back to a far-distance wasteland and then abandons the viewer, who is forced to wander through rural villages and along



Hushuguan

Pl. 52B (cat. 24). Scroll
Seven: detail, Huang-
budun to Hushuguan



Pl. 53. Scroll Seven: detail,
blind beggar



Wuxi

Huangbudun



Wangting

Xin'an

backwaters, discovering the simple pleasures of country life almost at random. On the far side of the bend, roadways reappear on both sides of the canal to focus the viewer's attention on the next town.

Hushuguan (literally, "Riverbank Villa Customs Barrier") is centered on the large customs station strategically located near the junction of the Grand Canal and three subsidiary waterways.⁵⁰ Bridges connect the various neighborhoods created by the canals and direct the viewer's attention in a circular motion through the busy thoroughfares, heightening the sense of a bustling, urban environment. The imposing three-arch bridge at the far end of town, for example, draws the eye into the foreground, where a blind beggar woman clutching a baby walks with the help of a stick and dog (pl. 53). Juxtaposed with this candid reminder of real destitution is a file of monks begging for alms. This procession, which parodies the recent passage of the emperor's retinue, moves rightward, opposite to the direction in which the scroll unrolls, leading the viewer back into town.

A bend in the canal just beyond Hushuguan marks the end of the second compositional section and signals another warping of time and space. As the canal recedes into the distance, it flows past the Maple Bridge and Hanshan Temple, which appear through the veiling atmosphere like ghostly apparitions. Situated on the outskirts of Suzhou, these famous sites provide the first hint of the city's proximity; their sudden appearance intensifies the anticipation of the viewer, who is lured into the mist. Neither the bridge nor the temple is an imposing structure, and the painting does not accord them much attention. Their inscribed names, however, embody intense literary associations that are far more compelling than any visual image.⁵¹ In a sense, no picture could do them justice, but their very names are enough to evoke the poetic imagery of countless literary visitors. The mist encourages a mood of poetic reverie and distracts the viewer from the shift in time and space that is taking place.

Within the curve of the canal, Wang Hui gives additional indications that real time has been suspended.



Tiger Hill

Pl. 52C (cat. 24). Scroll
Seven: detail, Maple
Bridge to Tiger Hill





Shantang

Hanshan Temple

Maple Bridge

Isolated in the mist is a promontory where a fisherman beneath a bank of flowering trees and an idyllic farmyard unmistakably recall the paradise evoked in the poem “Peach Blossom Spring” by Tao Qian (365–427), in which time and aging have come to a halt.⁵² Just beyond this scene, a dramatic performance staged entirely on boats further interrupts the main narrative.

Wang Hui’s use of mist to obscure the canal and interrupt the flow of the narrative functions as a cinematic “dissolve,” blurring a shift in time and space. The mist and the idyllic scenery it encapsulates mark a break in the continuity of the scroll’s coverage of the route. Before entering the mist, the viewer is traveling southeastward along the Grand Canal toward Suzhou. Upon reemerging, the viewer is on the Shantang Canal moving westward from Suzhou to Tiger Hill.

Kangxi made his outing to Tiger Hill on the day after his arrival in Suzhou; in the painting, however, Wang Hui has conflated two days’ activities into one, integrating Tiger Hill into the flow of the main narrative. Kangxi’s actual route into Suzhou followed the Grand Canal past Maple Bridge and Hanshan Temple to the Chang Gate. Had Wang Hui followed this route, Tiger Hill would be left in the distance and would appear too insignificant. Wang suggests the actual route by showing the Grand Canal heading toward the bridge and temple before it disappears. On the far side of Tiger Hill, the Grand Canal reappears and the main narrative resumes as the viewer is guided into Suzhou.

Tiger Hill has been minutely and accurately described (pl. 54). A wide alley leads from the canal up the hill to Thousand-Man Rock, a natural plaza ringed with pavilions, halls, and scenic sites that include the Longevity Pavilion mentioned in the

preface.⁵³ The Northern Song pagoda of the Yunyan Temple, the climax of any pilgrimage to Tiger Hill and its most renowned landmark, crowns the hilltop and reaches the upper edge of the painting.⁵⁴ Beyond the pagoda, the hill drops off precipitously as the landscape opens up into a wide expanse of fields and wetlands. This deep-distance view, marking the end of the third section, provides a dramatic break between Tiger Hill and the painting’s finale.

A great vortex of converging streets, waterways, boats, and people heightens the drama surrounding Kangxi’s arrival at the Chang Gate of Suzhou. The painting funnels all movement toward the foreground, where Kangxi is seated placidly in a barge decorated with five-clawed dragons on the hull, a yellow canopy, and a yellow pennant hanging from the mast (pl. 55).⁵⁵ With its projecting battlements and high walls, the massive gate arrests all leftward movement and creates a frame in which the formation of bodyguards, members of the mounted retinue, kneeling officials, and hundreds of onlookers magnifies and prolongs this exciting moment. Gathered before the gate is Kangxi’s entire waterborne retinue; onshore, members of his mounted escort await his arrival. The emperor’s sword-bearer, parasol bearer, and several imperial bodyguards are in attendance, while two open skiffs nearby carry other bodyguards. More than twenty additional boats flying yellow pennants represent the vessels attached to his entourage.

Although Kangxi’s disembarkation is the dramatic climax of the scroll, it is only the beginning of the final section of the painting, which continues another twenty feet (six meters) through the streets of Suzhou to the Silk Commissioner’s Residence, where Kangxi spent the night. The city is schematically represented as a grid with diagonal streets cutting across thoroughfares that run parallel to the longitudinal axis of the

Opposite: Map 5. Suzhou and its environs. After *Newly Measured Map of the Suzhou District* (*Suzhou xince tu*). Suzhou: Pingzedongyang Tang, 1931

Overleaf: Pl. 54. Scroll Seven: detail showing Tiger Hill

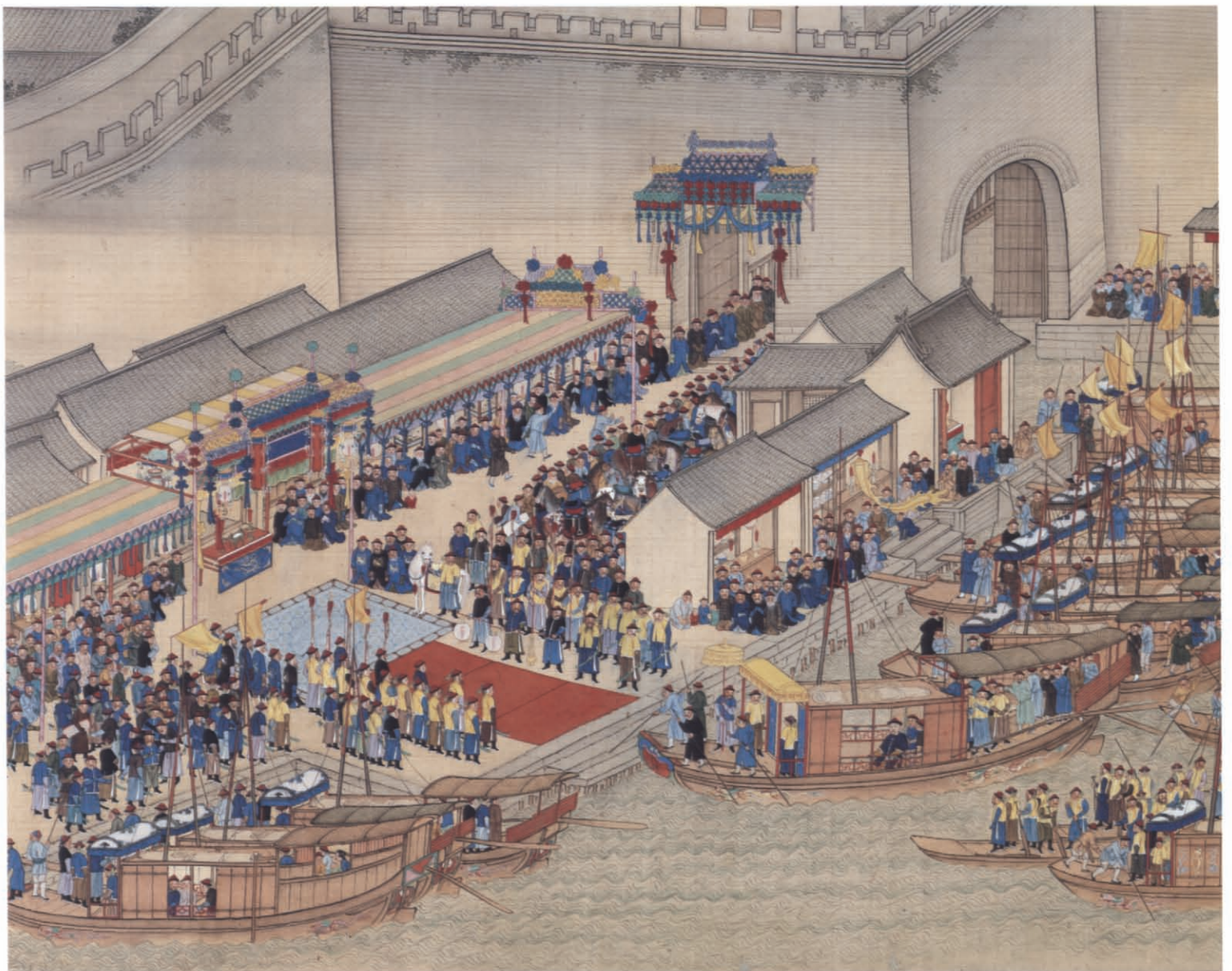


大雄寶殿

萬壽亭

千石







Chang Gate

scroll. Bands of mist obscuring large portions of the city serve both to simplify the painters' task and to suggest the onset of evening.

Streets and intersections filled with festive crowds recall the description in the preface of how the emperor's progress was interrupted several times by enthusiastic inhabitants. The two main thoroughfares extending leftward from the Yellow Oriole District and Gao bridges form a parallelogram that leads the viewer in a circuitous path through the town, stretching out the sense of elapsed time and distance. The rich sampling of crafts and merchandise presented along these avenues—among them, cloth shoes, multitiered boxes, pewterware, ceramics, dumplings, hats, sleeves, antiques, mats, tobacco, and umbrellas—also slows down the viewer's progress.

Beyond the parallelogram the festooned streets disappear and the view opens up into a level-distance vista of roofs and trees. A zigzag line of mist stretching from the top to the bottom of the painting interrupts the horizontal flow of the scroll and divides the composition like a river valley between two ranges of mountains. This empty stretch, similar to the earlier dissolution of the canal into mist, suggests a shift in time and space that conveys an idea of the extent of the city without actually depicting it all. It also offers a pause between areas of more intense activity. The multistoried Miluo Pavilion of the Daoist Xuanmiao Monastery, towering above the surrounding cityscape, locates this area as the central district of Suzhou.⁵⁶

On the other side of this mist-filled gap, houses and cross streets have been reoriented to face rightward, an alteration that corresponds to a shift in vantage point. Thus far, as the scroll has unrolled eastward across the width of the city, Suzhou has been seen from a southward-facing perspective; this shift enables Wang Hui to present a northward-facing, frontal view of the Silk Commissioner's Residence (pl. 56). The principal audience halls of the residence are axially aligned behind a forecourt, where two flagpoles are hung with orange banners. Spread out on either side of these main halls, the remainder of the complex includes courtyards filled with ornamental rocks and flowering trees, elegantly furnished private apartments, and workrooms housing looms and spools of silk thread. The painting comes to an end a short distance beyond the residence as the city once again dissolves in an enveloping bank of mist.

Scroll Seven provides the first complete opportunity to see a new dramatic device introduced in Scroll Six. Continuity in these two paintings does not rely upon an extended treatment of the retinue, which is not even apparent throughout most of Scroll Seven. The altars and bunting set out by the inhabitants supply a constant reminder of the emperor's recent passage, but it is the bustling life along the streets and thoroughfares that captures and directs the viewer's attention. When the retinue does appear, it is for one concentrated moment in which it serves as a frame for Kangxi's arrival.

Pl. 52D (cat. 24). Scroll Seven: detail showing Chang Gate, Suzhou

Opposite: Pl. 55. Scroll Seven: detail showing Kangxi's disembarkation at the Chang Gate



Silk Commissioner's Residence

Pl. 52E (cat. 24). Scroll
Seven: detail, Yellow
Oriole District to Silk
Commissioner's
Residence

Much of the painting closely adheres to the route of the Grand Canal, but for all its prominence this watery highway is not the principal path followed by the viewer's eye. The compelling narrative thread comes from the endless variety of travelers and residents moving along the roadways bordering the canal. Compared with this intensity of action, the canal remains a kind of negative space. Yet composi-

tionally, it acts as an important unifying feature. Banks of mist and subsidiary waterways often denote temporal or spatial divisions in the painting. These punctuation marks reveal the discrete space cells out of which Wang Hui composed his pictorial structure, each cell corresponding to one important site. The canal (or roadway) serves to integrate these scenic episodes within a continuous landscape setting.



Gao Bridge

Yellow Oriole District



Miluo Pavilion

The general scheme of Scroll Seven relates closely to that of Zhang Zeduan's *Spring Festival on the River* (figs. 118, 122). Both paintings move from countryside to cityscape, with a waterway forming a prominent part of the first half of the composition and urban streets dominating the second half. In both pictures the narrative thread is sustained by a wealth of genre detail. Although Wang Hui may not have seen the

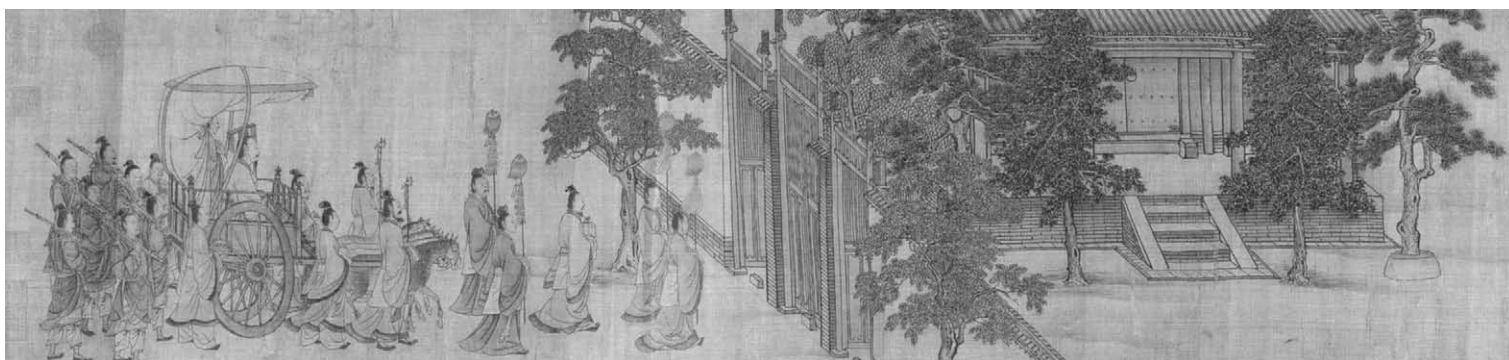
twelfth-century original, he must have been familiar with late Ming copies of the painting.⁵⁷

The compression of time and space in the scroll not only intensifies the dramatic flow of the painting, but also enables Wang Hui to show important sites from their most favorable angle. The hills around Wuxi and the wall of the city are viewed from the northeastern side of the Grand Canal looking

Overleaf: Pl. 56. Scroll Seven: detail showing the Silk Commissioner's Residence, Suzhou







Figs. 127, 128. Li Tang (ca. 1070s–ca. 1150s). *Duke Wen of Jin Recovering His State* (details: above, Journey to Chu; opposite, Return to Jin). Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 11 1/8 in. × 27 ft. 1 1/8 in. (29.5 × 827 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Ex coll.: C. C. Wang Family, Gift of The Dillon Fund, 1973 (1973.120.2)

southwest. At Tiger Hill, this vantage point is reversed, the hill being approached from a direction opposite to the line of travel from Wuxi—an approach that allows Wang Hui to view Tiger Hill from its most characteristic angle, from which all its sights would be visible. Wang Hui introduces another shift in viewpoint inside Suzhou: while the Chang Gate and city streets are seen from the north looking south, the Silk Commissioner's Residence is depicted from the south looking north. In each case the shift enables the artist to show these important sites in their fullest form, much as they would be laid out in a diagram or site plan. The cityscape, in particular, combines features of a map with a panoramic view. The underlying principle is the easy identification of the key sites that will orient the viewer within the narrative.

The keenly observed details of daily life portrayed in Scroll Seven reflect the familiarity of the artists with their native region. Only Nanjing, depicted in Scrolls Ten and Eleven, rivals Suzhou in scale, number of figures, and range of activities shown. Coming at the halfway point in the documentation of the tour, Scroll Seven represents a peak of sustained imagination and keen observation. Its emphasis is on people and sights—there were no important ritual functions performed by the emperor here—and the painting celebrates the scenery and grand reception offered by the wealthiest city in the empire.

TOUR SCROLL ARCHETYPES

The *Southern Inspection Tour* represents a major revival of narrative art, for in seeking to give meaning to Kangxi's tour, Wang Hui visualized the present in terms of the past. Faced with the first important historiographic commission of the Qing court, he turned to past models in order to formulate a narrative style that would allow him to portray Kangxi in terms of appropriate traditional archetypes. The most striking parallel to Wang's commission was the other great imperially sponsored revival

of narrative painting: the use of history paintings by the Song emperor Gaozong (r. 1127–62) to further the cause of his “dynastic revival” (*zhongxing*). Like Kangxi, Gaozong turned to cultural pursuits as a means to enhance his image as a legitimate monarch.⁵⁸ Drawing on the talents of scholars and artists associated with the Imperial Painting Academy, he sponsored several large-scale narrative cycles related to this theme: *Duke Wen of Jin Recovering His State* (figs. 127, 128), by Li Tang (ca. 1070s–ca. 1150s); *Eighteen Songs of a Nomad Flute: The Story of Lady Wenji* (fig. 129), by an anonymous court painter; and the *Odes of the State of Bin from the “Book of Poetry”* (fig. 130), by Ma Hezhi (active ca. 1130–80).⁵⁹

In his formal treatment of the *Southern Inspection Tour*, Wang Hui followed the prototypes established by his Song predecessors. As in the Gaozong cycles, the narrative is divided into a series of text-and-picture units. The Gaozong format, combining an episodic structure with a tight focus on the central figure of the drama, ideally suited Wang Hui's task. Where Wang departs from this formula is in the scale of his painting: in the *Southern Inspection Tour* each text-and-picture unit has been enlarged into a separate scroll.

A second archetypal structure common to both the *Southern Inspection Tour* and the paintings in the Gaozong cycle is the convention of illustrating an official progress in terms of its “going forth” (*chuxing*) and its “return” (*huibi*).⁶⁰ The *Southern Inspection Tour* is presented as an extended excursion that begins with a formal exodus from the capital in Scroll One and ends with Kangxi's return in Scroll Twelve. And the same pattern is reiterated within each scroll. Every segment of the journey is framed by a point of departure and a destination, while Kangxi is usually shown as either setting forth (pl. 49) or arriving (pl. 55). This manner of representing ritual processions dates back at least to Han times.⁶¹ In at least two of Gaozong's narrative cycles, *Duke Wen of Jin Recovering His State* and *Eighteen Songs of a Nomad Flute*, the travels of the protagonists are also conceived as outward and return journeys.



Fig. 129. Unidentified artist (early 15th century?), copy after a 12th-century Southern Song Academy painter. *Eighteen Songs of a Nomad Flute: The Story of Lady Wenji* (detail, the nomad band escorting Wenji onto the steppes). Handscroll, ink and colors on silk, 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. $\times$ 39 ft. 9 in. (28.3 cm $\times$ 12.1 m). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Ex coll.: C. C. Wang Family, Gift of The Dillon Fund, 1973 (1973.120.3)



Fig. 130. Ma Hezhi (active ca. 1130–80) and assistants. *Odes of the State of Bin from the "Book of Poetry"* (detail). Handscroll, ink, color, gold, and silver on silk, 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ cm $\times$ 23 ft. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (27.6 $\times$ 722.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Ex coll.: C. C. Wang Family, Purchase, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, by exchange, 1973 (1973.121.3)



Pl. 57. Scroll Three:
figures (detail, pl. 49)

The most striking innovation of the *Southern Inspection Tour* is Wang Hui's merging of the monoscenic narrative mode with the monumental landscape format. By transforming each illustrative unit into a full-length landscape, Wang attained a new grandeur of scale that significantly altered the character of his narrative. In this new structure, the scale and importance of individual figures are diminished, but the scope of the narrative is tremendously expanded to permit a comprehensive cataloguing of styles, architectural and landscape motifs, professions, and figure types. The painting is an extraordinary essaying of the entire theme of an emperor's journey, one that depicts not only the paradigmatic actions of the ruler but also the full route, modes of travel, topography, rural and urban scenery, and the everyday activities of his subjects. Wang Hui's ambition in this work—to achieve a comprehensive, encyclopedic treatment of Kangxi's journey—mirrors the contemporary belief that all knowledge could be systematically surveyed, classified, and summarized, as evidenced in the numerous Qing annotated compilations, compendiums, and encyclopedias, many of which received imperial sponsorship.⁶²

In the *Southern Inspection Tour*, Wang Hui integrated the many layers of the subject within a single,

coherent pictorial structure, expanded its scale and scope by merging traditional narrative and landscape formats, and developed a bold synthesis of scholar-amateur and academic painting styles. Taken together, these innovations constituted a new classical formulation of narrative art that became the model for all later court-sponsored works in this genre. Although in most respects the Qing followed Ming precedents in government, in court painting they did not continue the style of the Ming Painting Academy. Wang Hui's neoclassicism, based on a painting style that had previously defined itself as the antithesis of the courtly tradition, represented a major innovation in the tradition of imperially sponsored arts. The revolutionary outcome of Wang's achievement was to establish a painting style based on literati prototypes as the model for painters employed by the court.

The scale and scope of the *Southern Inspection Tour* also inspired a new genre of grandiose historiographic paintings. Kangxi himself sponsored two other large-scale narrative paintings, *Illustrations of Agriculture and Sericulture* (*Gengzhi tu*) and *The Kangxi Emperor's Sixtieth Birthday Celebration* (*Kangxi liuxun wanshou qingdian tu*).⁶³ During the reign of the Qianlong emperor, the production of historiographic paintings increased exponentially. A twelve-scroll *Qianlong Emperor's Southern*



Fig. 131. Xu Yang (active ca. 1750–75) and assistants. *The Qianlong Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour, Scroll Four: The Confluence of the Huai and Yellow Rivers* (detail, Qianlong and attendants), dated 1770. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 27 1/4 in. × 35 ft. 11 1/4 in. (68.8 cm × 10.9 m). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, The Dillon Fund Gift, 1984 (1984.16)



Fig. 132. Xu Yang (active ca. 1750–75) and assistants. *The Qianlong Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour, Scroll Four*. Detail showing the confluence of the Huai and Yellow rivers



Fig. 133. Xu Yang (active ca. 1750–75) and assistants. *The Qianlong Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour, Scroll Six: Entering Suzhou along the Grand Canal* (detail, Tiger Hill), dated 1770. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 27 1/8 in. × 65 ft. 4 1/2 in. (68.8 cm × 19.9 m). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, The Dillon Fund Gift, 1988 (1988.350)

Inspection Tour, painted in 1770 by the Suzhou artist Xu Yang (active ca. 1750–75), was modeled directly upon Wang Hui's creation.⁶⁴ In spite of the stylistic affinities of this and other Qianlong productions to Wang's *Southern Inspection Tour*, however, none rivals Wang's scrolls in either descriptive richness or the integration of landscape and narrative elements.

A comparison of the Kangxi and Qianlong *Southern Tour* scrolls highlights the distinct qualities of each and reveals a significant shift in taste during the eighteenth century. Xu Yang's scrolls fuse a simplified version of Wang Hui's landscape style with a new, Western-influenced descriptive verisimilitude introduced to China by European Jesuit missionaries and greatly favored by the Qianlong emperor. Qianlong no doubt found European realism, particularly in the art of portraiture, to be an effective way of documenting his exploits in a visually convincing manner. Consequently, he promoted a synthesis of Chinese and European pictorial techniques in many court-sponsored commemorative works.

The impact of this new approach on Xu Yang's *Southern Inspection Tour* is profound. As the figures of the emperor and his subjects became more three-dimensional and anatomically accurate, the space around them had likewise to become more illusionistically convincing. Since Xu was forced to maintain a consistent and measurable scale in his paintings, the distance he was able to depict was greatly reduced. Although a typical Qianlong tour scroll is more than sixty-one feet (eighteen meters) long, the portion of the tour route depicted in each scroll is limited to one or

two miles (1.6–3.2 kilometers). In place of the enormous distances encompassed in Wang Hui's paintings, which often covered more than 120 miles (200 kilometers) in a single scroll, Xu Yang's scrolls are monoscenic in conception: each illustration is reduced to a unified panorama centered on the figure of Qianlong.

Ironically, this shift toward greater illusionistic realism had a stultifying effect. To animate his more accurately rendered, three-dimensionally convincing figures, Xu had to make their poses and gestures more theatrical. In contrast to the schematic, almost cartoonlike figures in the Kangxi scrolls, whose stylized, abstracted forms are charged with expressive energy (pl. 57), Xu Yang's figures appear like rigidly posed mannequins—recalling those in many Rococo paintings, in which the protagonists appear to be frozen in stiffly dramatic poses within stagelike tableaux (fig. 131).

The same is true of Xu Yang's compositions. In representing architecture, for example, the Kangxi *Southern Tour* paintings arrange buildings in a way that enhances compositional drama, with no effort to show a systematic diminution in scale or recession toward a single vanishing point. In Scroll Seven, for example, buildings are arrayed in a sweeping curve that draws the viewer toward the scroll's dramatic climax—the arrival of Kangxi at Suzhou's great Chang Gate (see pl. 52D). In the Qianlong scrolls, the modified use of Western-style linear perspective results in more static pictorial structures that inhibit the horizontal flow of the handscroll format (fig. 132).

A final limitation resulting from Xu Yang's adherence to Western conventions of spatial realism



is apparent in how key landmarks are presented. Because space is malleable in the Kangxi scrolls, landmarks are reoriented as needed in order to show them in their most characteristic “frontal” view. But in Xu’s paintings, the commitment to maintaining a consistent point of view forces him to abandon this convention. In his representation of the Grand Canal and the route of the Qianlong emperor into Suzhou, for example, the canal is presented as though the viewer were invariably looking from the east toward the west. In order to maintain the consistency of this viewpoint, however, Xu Yang had to portray Tiger Hill from the back (fig. 133). In Scroll Seven of the Kangxi set, on the other hand, Wang Hui had no problem reorienting the mountain to present it from its most characteristic, frontal view (pl. 54). Similarly, the Silk Commissioner’s Residence in Suzhou is seen from the front in the Kangxi scroll (pl. 56) but from the rear in the Qianlong set (fig. 134). Thus, while European-style realism added a certain representational verisimilitude to the depiction of Qianlong on his tour, it detracted from the artist’s ability to suggest the vast scale of the journey or to highlight the important sites that the emperor visited.

As the product of imperial patronage, Wang Hui’s *Southern Inspection Tour* necessarily reflects the documentary, didactic, and commemorative (today one might say propagandistic) requirements of Kangxi and his court—showing Kangxi as an exemplary Confucian ruler who adhered to inherited paradigms of imperial behavior. Wang Hui was eminently successful at reading his patron’s mind and at advancing the interests of the cultural establishment, of which he was a part. His linking of Kangxi’s tour to earlier patterns of dynastic revival also suggests that he saw his commission as one aspect of a larger process in which painting served not merely as official historiography but as a didactic model that would promote

the goals of cultural continuity and orthodoxy. For Wang Hui, who was mindful of the parallels between his role and that of earlier scholar-artists who had championed cultural renewal when traditional values were threatened, the ultimate purpose of the *Southern Inspection Tour* may have been to influence the course of history by bringing the present into alignment with the established verities of the past. His striving to achieve *dacheng*, a “Great Synthesis,” in art lent support to the larger goal of integrating cultural and political spheres to effect *datong*, “great unity.”

Fig. 134. Xu Yang (active ca. 1750–75) and assistants. *The Qianlong Emperor’s Southern Inspection Tour*, Scroll Six. Detail, Silk Commissioner’s Residence

1. The *Diaries of Activity and Repose of the Kangxi Emperor* (*Kangxi qijuzhu*) is referred to hereafter as *Diaries*. The official diarists in attendance on the second Southern Tour were Kulena, Li Guangdi (1642–1718), Hong’edai, and Wang Bin (*Boxue hongru* exam, 1679). For Li Guangdi, see “Li Kuang-ti” by Fang Chao-ying in Hummel 1943–44, pp. 473–75; for Wang Bin, see under the entry for his son, “Wang Chin-ch’i” by Fang Chao-ying, in *ibid.*, p. 812.
2. For an eyewitness account of the Manchu destruction of Yangzhou in 1645, see *Record of Ten Days in Yangzhou* (*Yangzhou shiri ji*). Wang’s account has been translated in Mao 1937. See also Wakeman 1985, vol. 1, pp. 556–63. On the Manchu command that male Han Chinese shave their heads and wear a queue, see *ibid.*, pp. 646–50.
3. In addition to standard memorials and audiences—the regular channels of communication—Kangxi utilized tours, censors (the “ears and eyes” of the emperor), imperial commissioners, bond servants, and, beginning in 1693, confidential palace memorials, to keep informed and exercise direct control over the affairs of the empire. See Wu, Silas H. L. 1970, esp. pp. 21–26.
4. Xiao Yishan 1962–63, vol. 1, pp. 792–93, provides a brief overview of Kangxi’s various tours. For a summary of all six Southern Tours, see Spence 1966, pp. 124–51. See also Wu, Silas H. L. 1979.
5. See Miller 1974, p. 118, for a table of *jinshi* degrees divided by province for the years 1655–82 based on lists in *Ming Qing like jinshi timing beilu* 1969.
6. The Yangzi Delta elite repeatedly met with harsh treatment, suspicion, and prejudice during the early years of the dynasty, most notably with respect to tax collection and recruitment for office. Despite the high achievement of Jiangnan scholars in the metropolitan examinations, before 1673 the highest

- positions in the imperial bureaucracy were almost totally dominated by northern Chinese (see Miller 1974, p. 117). In the tax case of 1661, some 13,800 Jiangsu gentry were punished for tax delinquency with loss of degrees, imprisonment, and other penalties (see *ibid.*, p. 70).
7. For a discussion of Jiangnan's role in the rebellion and Kangxi's use of southerners as a counterbalance to the metropolitan bureaucracy, which was dominated by Manchus and northern Chinese, see *ibid.*, esp. pp. 59–99, 117–32.
 8. See “Mingju” by Fang Chao-ying in Hummel 1943–44, pp. 577–78; and Miller 1974, pp. 133–73.
 9. See Spence 1966, p. 125.
 10. For Wu Sangui, see “Wu San-kuei” by Fang Chao-ying in Hummel 1943–44, pp. 877–80. Although the suppression of the Three Feudatories rebellion was completed in 1681, the rebel forces in Taiwan were not finally defeated until October 3, 1683; see under “Shih Lang” by Earl Swisher in *ibid.*, p. 653.
 11. See *Diaries*, pp. 1236–57; and Spence 1966, p. 125, n. 6.
 12. On Kangxi's visit to Mount Tai, see Chavannes 1910, pp. 59, 392–93; and *Diaries*, pp. 1238–39.
 13. For a list of emperors who visited Mount Tai, see Baker 1925, pp. 195–201.
 14. See “Treatise on the Feng and Shan Sacrifices” in Sima Qian, *Shiji* (1959 ed.), vol. 4, pp. 1355–1404; and Chavannes 1910, pp. 16–19. See also Spence 1966, p. 126.
 15. See *Diaries*, pp. 1246–47.
 16. *Ibid.*, p. 1842.
 17. This sense of triumph is evident in the *Diaries* commentary for April 7, Kangxi's birthday and the penultimate day of his tour; see *ibid.*, p. 1850.
 18. For the emperor's itinerary, with his daily stopping places and a breakdown of which segments of the tour were illustrated by Wang Hui, see Hearn 1990, pp. 20–22.
 19. Wang Hui's imminent departure for the capital to begin work on the painting was acclaimed by numerous literati at a celebration of his sixtieth (*sui*) birthday in 1691; see *Qinghui zengyan* 1994, pp. 876–79.
 20. The meaningful links between Wang Shan and Wang Hui have been suggested by Jonathan Spence in Spence 1976. For Wang Shan's biography, see under “Wang Shan” by Fang Chao-ying in Hummel 1943–44, pp. 830–31; and *Guochao qixian leizheng chubian* 1966, pp. 2383–87.
 21. For Song Junye, see under “Song Deyi” in *Guochao qixian leizheng chubian* 1966, pp. 2268–69. For Song's presence on the 1689 tour, see *Suzhou fuzhi* 1883, *juanshou* 1, p. 11. Song continued to supervise imperially sponsored artistic projects. In 1705 he and four other officials, including the painter Wang Yuanqi, were ordered to compile a comprehensive collection of commentaries on painting and calligraphy, which was published in 1708 under the title *Manual of Calligraphy and Painting of the Studio for Admiring Culture* (*Peiwen Zhai shubua pu*). See under “Wang Yüan-ch'i” by J. C. Yang in Hummel 1943–44, p. 844.
 22. See *Qingchao tongzhi* 1965, chap. 113, p. 7387.
 23. Yang Jin's biography states, “When Vice President Song Jianzhai [Junye] of Changzhou [Suzhou] and Grand Secretary Wang Zhuan'an [Shan] of Taicang received the command to paint the *Southern Inspection Tour*, they invited [Yang Jin] to accompany his master [Wang Hui] to the capital. The project took three years. When the picture was completed, it entered the imperial [collection] and [Yang Jin's] fame increased ninefold. [Song Junye] borrowed authentic Tang, Song, Yuan, and Ming masterpieces from the imperial collection and invited [Yang] to make copies, which he presented to the emperor. They were good enough to be mistaken for the originals.” See Yu Yi, *Haiyu huayuan lue* (1963 ed.), pp. 17–18. Gu Fang's biography states that “early in his career [Gu] went to the capital, where Song Junye assembled famous artists to paint the *Southern Inspection Tour*, ordering Wang Hui to direct the project.” See Feng Jinbo and Wu Jin, *Guochao huashi* (1941 ed.), chap. 7, p. 7b.
 24. The draft of this scroll has not been published; the translation is based on my own transcription; see Hearn 1990, App. C.
 25. The draft for Scroll Ten is here accurately identified as the first scroll to illustrate Kangxi's homeward-bound direction of travel.
 26. For a discussion of the role of allegory and archetypes in Chinese culture, see Plaks 1976.
 27. See Hearn 1988.
 28. It is revealing to see how Wang Hui's painting departs from the actual events of Kangxi's return. When the emperor entered the city, he made a special detour to visit the residence of Prince An, who had recently died. But this detail did not serve the larger purpose of the scrolls, which was to present an idealized record of how the emperor should have been received back into the capital by the full court. In order to make his painting conform to the archetypal image of an imperial return and maintain a symmetrical relationship to Scroll One, Wang Hui drew upon the precedent of the 1684 Southern Tour. There, the emperor reentered the capital from the imperial preserve at Nan Yuan and was properly received by the full court as he made his grand entrance along the axial way. Yang Xin makes this point in Yang Xin 1981, p. 23. For the brief record of Kangxi's return from his 1684 tour, see *Diaries*, p. 1257.
 29. At least ten collaborative works by Wang Hui and his students are extant from the period 1691–95; see Hearn 1990, p. 179, n. 3.
 30. For Yang Jin's biography, see Yu Yi, *Haiyu huayuan lue* (1963 ed.), pp. 17–18. For Gu Fang's biography, see Feng Jinbo and Wu Jin, *Guochao huashi* (1941 ed.), chap. 7, p. 7b. Translations of the relevant passages appear in Hearn 1990, pp. 57–58, n. 7.
 31. For biographical information on Wang Yun, see Li Yufen 1921, chap. 1, p. 15a; and Qin Zuyong 1967, p. 113. See also Ho, Wai-kam, et al. 1980.
 32. For biographical information on Xu Min, see Zhang Geng, *Guochao huazheng lu* (1963 ed.), chap. 2, pp. 39–40; Hu Jing, *Guochao yuanyuan lu* (1963 ed.), chap. 2, p. 65; and Qin Zuyong 1967, p. 116. For an illustration and discussion of *The Kangxi Emperor's Sixtieth Birthday Celebration*, see Maxwell K. Hearn in Rawski and Rawson 2005, pp. 391–92, no. 24.
 33. For biographical information on Yu Yuan, see Qin Zuyong 1967, p. 114; and Zhang Geng and Hu Zhenzu, *Guochao huazheng xulu* (1963 ed.), chap. 1, p. 89.
 34. See Hearn 2002, pp. 80–107, pls. 6a–p.
 35. *Guochao qixian leizheng chubian* 1966, p. 12948. Translation modified from Heilesen 1980b, pp. 92–93.
 36. Drafts survive for Scrolls Seven, Eight, Ten, Eleven, and Twelve. The draft version of Scroll Seven has recently entered the collection of the Jiangsu Provincial Museum in Nanjing from descendants of Song Junye living in Suzhou. Appended to the end of that scroll are two rough sketches—possibly evidence of an earlier stage of painting—and a fragment of another draft painting as well as colophons by members of the Song family. The drafts of Scrolls Eight, Ten, and Twelve are now in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing. The draft of Scroll Eleven is in the collection of the Shenyang Palace Museum; a modern copy of this draft is in the collection of the Jiangsu Provincial Museum.
 37. The compositions of the draft scrolls do not break down into uniform sections corresponding to individual sheets of paper but flow over joins in the paper, indicating that the separate sheets were mounted together before painting began.
 38. Portions of Draft Scroll Eleven have been published in *Shenyang Gugong bowuyuan* 2006, vol. 1, pl. 77.
 39. *Diaries*, p. 1843.
 40. Wang Hui's division of the tour into a series of twelve handscrolls not only was appropriate for the subject matter, but also reflected numerological conventions. There was a well-established precedent for the use of this number among

- sets of hanging scrolls and album leaves, while its calendrical associations—twelve months in a year—conveyed a sense of totality or completeness that suited Wang's comprehensive approach.
41. For a complete reproduction of Zhang Zeduan's *Spring Festival on the River*, see Zhu Jiajin 1986, pp. 98–101.
 42. *Diaries*, p. 1826.
 43. That the character *zhang* (章) on the painting is different from the *zhang* (張) used in the *Diaries* and on the maps suggests that it was erroneously transcribed in the *Southern Inspection Tour*.
 44. For the cult of Mount Tai, see Chavannes 1910, pp. 2–43. In the painting, the temple is accurately placed in the northwest quadrant of the city.
 45. The identification of the priests is supported by the fact that, although the mountain is sacred to Confucians, Buddhists, and Daoists alike, its principal temples are Daoist; in addition, none of the figures depicted in the painting wear Buddhist robes or have completely shaven heads. For a full description of the pilgrimage route up Mount Tai, see *ibid.*, pp. 44–157; a useful summary of Chavannes appears in *China* 1974, pp. 713–40.
 46. Wang Hui followed the same process of reinterpretation in making a large-scale copy of Fan Kuan's *Travelers amid Streams and Mountains* (see pl. 7). His copy, painted about 1671 for Wang Shimin (1592–1680), was based upon the reduced copy of Fan's masterpiece in the album *To See Large within Small* (see fig. 17). Wang Hui's unsigned copy was so successful that Song Junye, who saw the work in 1696 while visiting Wang Shimin's old residence in Changshu with Wang Hui, added an inscription on the mounting that praised it as an original work by Fan Kuan. See *Gugong shubua lu* 1965, vol. 3, chap. 5, pp. 41–42; and Fong 1984, pp. 187–90.
 47. Publications featuring Scroll Seven include Heilesen 1980a; Heilesen 1980b; Moss 1984, pp. 76–81, no. 18; and Hearn 1988, pp. 110, 121–22, figs. 4, 10, 11. The scroll is cinematically documented in *A Day on the Grand Canal with the Emperor of China or Surface Is Illusion but So Is Depth*, a forty-six-minute film written and narrated by David Hockney and produced and directed by Philip Haas. See *Day on the Grand Canal* 1988.
 48. See Zhang Ying, *Nanxun hucong jilue* (1968 ed.), pp. 6b–7a. For Zhang Ying, see “Chang Ying” by Fang Chao-ying in Hummel 1943–44, pp. 64–65.
 49. See *Changzhou fuzhi* 1618. See also Hearn 1990, map vi.
 50. First established in 1429, the customs station is identified by two tall flagpoles with orange banners. Gateways located at either side of the entrance serve as checkpoints across the roadway, while a bridge made from two barges controls river traffic. See *Suzhou fuzhi* 1883, chap. 22, pp. 43b–44a.
 51. For a discussion of how the literary associations of a site outlive its physical remains, see Mote 1973.
 52. For a discussion of the poem and an English translation, see Hightower 1970, pp. 254–58.
 53. Other identifiable sites in the painting include Sword-Testing Rock, a boulder with a crack along the top face, Ancient Crane Torrent, Nodding Rock, Sword Pool, and Daxiongbao Hall. A brief history of Tiger Hill and a description of these sites appear in the *Suzhou fuzhi* 1883, chap. 7, pp. 4b–7a. The gazetteer (p. 5a) mentions that a Longevity Pavilion was erected to the right of the main temple hall in 1689.
 54. A full account of Kangxi's visit to Tiger Hill appears in the *Suzhou fuzhi* 1883, *juanshou* 1, pp. 9b–11a; the pagoda was dedicated in 959 C.E.
 55. The Chang Gate and most of the city wall have been torn down, but the configuration of waterways and roadways remains unchanged.
 56. This celebrated temple was founded during the Xianning reign period (275–79) of the Jin dynasty, but did not become known as Xuanmiao Monastery until the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). Its name is changed to Yuanmiao Monastery on the scroll to avoid using the character *xuan*, which also appears in Kangxi's personal name, Xuanyeh. The three-storied Miluo Pavilion was one of the temple's most prominent landmarks. Constructed during the Zhengtong reign (1436–49), it was destroyed in 1602 but rebuilt in the early years of the Kangxi era. For a brief summary of the temple's history, see *Suzhou fuzhi* 1883, chap. 41, pp. 16a–20a.
 57. For a discussion of Zhang Zeduan's masterpiece and the many later versions of the work, see Whitfield 1965.
 58. See Wen Fong's discussion of dynastic revival in Fong 1992a, pp. 194–222, and Julia Murray's discussion of Gaozong's cultural pursuits and patronage in Murray 1986.
 59. Additional illustrations of these paintings appear in Fong 1992a, pls. 26–29. For a full discussion of the various extant versions of the *Book of Poetry*, see Murray 1993, pp. 104–47.
 60. A number of Gaozong-sponsored paintings feature images of processions, including *Auspicious Omens for Dynastic Revival* and *Welcoming the Imperial Carriage*. See Murray 1985, figs. 1, 3, 9, and pp. 18–21.
 61. See, for example, images of processions in the Wu Family Shrines (ca. 150–160 C.E.). For a convincing reconstruction of the structure and decorative program of these shrines, see Fairbank 1972, esp. pp. 70–71, a discussion of the procession.
 62. Among the Kangxi-era imperially sponsored compilations inspired by the same desire for comprehensive documentation are the *Classified Encyclopedia of Profound Knowledge* (*Yuanjian leihan*, completed in 1702), compiled under Wang Shizhen (1634–1711); the *Complete Tang Poems* (*Quan Tang shi*, completed in 1706), compiled under Cao Yin (1658–1712); the *Peiwen Zhai shubua pu* (completed in 1708; see note 21 above), compiled under Song Junye and Wang Yuanqi (1642–1715); the *Rhyme Dictionary of the Appreciating Cultural Studio* (*Peiwen yunfu*, completed in 1711), compiled under Zhang Yushu (1642–1711); the *Kangxi Dictionary* (*Kangxi zidian*, commissioned in 1710, completed in 1716), begun under the direction of Zhang Yushu; and the *Synthesis of Books and Illustrations of Ancient and Modern Times* (*Gujin tushu jicheng*, completed ca. 1722, published in 1728), compiled under the direction of Chen Menglei (1651–ca. 1723) in 10,000 *juan* (chapters).
 63. For *Illustrations of Agriculture and Sericulture*, see *Yu zhi geng zhi tu* (1697). This printed book was based on a set of paintings completed in 1696, with texts written out by Kangxi and accompanying illustrations by Jiao Bingzhen (active ca. 1680–1720). The illustrations are based directly upon a didactic painting sponsored by the Song emperor Gaozong. The compositions of Jiao Bingzhen's *Illustrations* are preserved in the 1697 and 1739 printed editions of the *Gengzhi tu*; see Sirén 1956–58, vol. 6, pl. 331. The Gaozong-era prototype for Jiao's painting was executed by Lou Shu (active first half of twelfth century). A version of this work survives in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art; see Lawton 1973, pp. 54–57, nos. 7, 8.
- The Kangxi Emperor's Sixtieth Birthday Celebration* depicts the festivities held along the nine-mile (fifteen-kilometer) route that Kangxi followed from the Garden of Exhilarating Spring (Chang Chun Yuan) in the northwestern suburbs of Beijing to the Forbidden City on the day before his sixtieth birthday, April 12, 1713. This immense handscroll, nearly 260 feet (80 meters) in length, was created under the supervision of Song Junye and Wang Yuanqi, the grandson of Wang Hui's mentor, Wang Shimin. A collaborative work, the painting was completed in 1717. The original painting does not survive, but its appearance is preserved in the form of woodblock illustrations included in the *Magnificent Record of Longevity, First Collection* (*Wanshou shengdian quji*), published in 1717 (see “Wang Yuan-ch'i” by J. C. Yang in Hummel 1943–44, p. 845), and in a painted reproduction created during the Qianlong period (1736–95) and now in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing. For a partial reproduction of the Qianlong version, see n. 32 above.
64. See Hearn 1988.

Catalogue: Inscriptions, Signatures, and Seals

Shi-yee Liu



I pls. 2, 15

Wang Hui (1632–1717)

Landscape in the Style of Huang Gongwang
倣黃公望山水

Fang Huang Gongwang shanshui

Dated 1660

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 68 ½ x 35 ¼ in. (174 x 89.6 cm)

Princeton University Art Museum, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse, in honor of Wen C. Fong, Class of 1951 and Graduate School Class of 1958, and Constance Tang Fong (y1969–70)

ARTIST'S INSCRIPTION AND SIGNATURE
(6 columns in running script)

Mountains and streams round and full;
Grass and trees resplendent and lush.

The *gengzi* year [1660], winter, following the brush manner of Zijiu [Huang Gongwang]. [Painted] for the birthday of the venerable old gentleman Yu. Wang Hui.¹

山川渾厚，草木華滋。

庚子冬倣子久筆意為毓翁老先生壽，王翬

ARTIST'S SEALS

Wang Hui zhi yin 王翬之印 (Seal of Wang Hui)

Shigu 石谷 (Stone Valley)

Mochan 墨禪 (Ink Meditation)

Shangxia gujin 上下古今 (I travel up and down through past and present)

COLOPHON

Wu Hufan 吳湖帆 (1894–1968), dated 1938
(18 columns in standard script)

The Orthodox Lineage of Chiwen [Huang Gongwang]

Zhang Juqu [Zhang Yu, 1283–1350] inscribed a painting by Huangchi [Huang Gongwang] with the words: "Mountains and streams round and full; Grass and trees resplendent and lush." The two Wangs of Loudong [Wang Shimin and Wang Jian] spent their entire lives in study, that they might transmit the true tradition. When Shiguzi [Wang Hui] was a young man, he served his teachers, the two Wangs, and received from them all the secrets [of painting]. [In his art,] both the form and the spirit are complete. This painting is a copy by Shigu, at the age of twenty-nine *sui*, of Xiangbi's [Wang Jian's] composition in the style of Chiwen [Huang Gongwang]. Not only are the brush and ink used with great skill, but also if it were placed among Xiangbi's paintings of his middle years, there would not be [seen] the slightest difference. The year *wuyin* [1938], on a winter day, elder brother Sun Bangrui, having newly acquired [this painting], showed it to me. I am delighted that it has found its rightful home, and have therefore recorded its origins. Wu Hufan examined and inscribed.²

癡翁正脈

張句曲題黃癡畫曰“山川渾厚，草木華滋。”婁東二王畢生罕討，傳其正脈。石谷子蚤歲師事二王，盡受秘奧，形神兼具。此圖為石谷廿九歲臨湘碧仿癡翁本，不獨筆墨精到，若雜之湘碧中年畫中，竟無異致也。戊寅冬日邦瑞孫兄新獲見示，快此畫之得所歸矣，因識其端。吳湖帆鑒題

COLOPHON WRITER'S SEALS

Hufan xuyue 湖帆續閱

Wu Hufan yin 吳湖帆印

COLLECTOR'S SEALS

Sun Bangrui 孫邦瑞 (1902–1950)

Bangrui jianchang 邦瑞鑒藏

Jiyang Sun shi 暨陽孫氏

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Fong 1969, pp. 178, 179; Whitfield 1969, pp. 102–4, no. 12

1. Translation modified from Whitfield 1969, p. 103.

2. Ibid.

2 pls. 18, 19

Wang Hui (1632–1717)

Water Village, after Zhao Danian
倣趙大年水村

Fang Zhao Danian shuicun

Dated 1662

Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 51 ½ x 20 in. (130.8 x 50.7 cm)

Palace Museum, Beijing

ARTIST'S INSCRIPTIONS AND SIGNATURES
(14 columns in standard script)

In the second [lunar] month of the *renyin* year [1662], Shigu Wang Hui from Yushan painted this work after *Water Village* by Zhao Danian [Zhao Lingrang, active ca. 1070–after 1100] for Mr. Zitang at the Half Garden [Ban Yuan] of the Tang family in Piling [Changzhou].

壬寅二月虞山石谷王翬為子唐先生仿趙大年水村圖於毗陵唐氏之半園

I painted this work for a friend in Piling thirty-five years ago. After my old friend died, my paintings [for him] have been scattered. I can no longer remember them all. Mr. Yang Jifu encountered this at the Temple of Compassion and Benevolence [Ciren Si] and purchased it to show me. It feels like a lifetime ago. In the past Li Gongze [Li Chang, 1027–1090] loved the poetry of Su Wenzhong [Su Shi, 1037–1101]. He would even mount [Su's] fragmented manuscripts together into scrolls to show him, but Su had forgotten when he had written them. My painting is far inferior to Su's poetry. But Mr. Yang's enthusiasm is no less than Gongze's. Therefore I have inscribed this painting [again] and returned it to him. On the twenty-fifth day of the second [lunar] month of the *dingchou* year [March 17, 1697], the thirty-sixth year in the Kangxi era, the Mist-Plowing Idler [Gengyan Sanren], Wang Hui.¹

此余三十五年前在毗陵贈友作也。故人宿草，卷軸零殘，不復記憶。即乎楊子偶於慈仁寺上購以眎余，恍如夙世。昔李公擇嗜蘇文忠公詩，即斷稿殘幅必補綴成帙以示公，公且忘其為何時作。余畫遠愧蘇詩，而楊子之好事固不讓公擇矣。因為題識而歸之。時康熙三十六年歲在丁丑二月二十五日，耕煙散人王翬



ARTIST'S SEALS

Wang Hui 王翬

Wang Hui zhi yin 王翬之印

Shigu 石谷

Shiguzi 石谷子 (Master Stone Valley)

Qinghui 清暉 (Pure Radiance)

Gengyan Sanren 耕煙散人 (Mist-Plowing Idler)

Chenghuai Guan yin 澱懷館印 (Seal of the Hall of Lucid Mind)

Yi zai Danqiu Huanghe Baishi Qingteng zhi jian 意在丹丘黃河白石青藤之間 (Integrating the ways of Danqiu [Ke Jiusi], Huanghe [Wang Meng], Baishi [Shen Zhou], and Qingteng [Xu Wei])

Cangjiang baifa 滄江白髮

INSCRIPTION

Tang Yuzhao 唐宇昭 (1602–1672)

(6 columns in running-standard script)

An expanse of rivers and lakes fills the eye, undisturbed by wind or waves.

How I wish to move my home and spend my life in such a painting!

Old age and laziness are my excuses for perusing it day and night.

How could dream journeys not bring great joy!

My nephew Zitang waited for Shigu [Wang Hui] to complete this painting so he could bring it to Pingling.² I kept it a whole day to appreciate it and inscribed this. Zhao of the Half Garden [Ban Yuan]

江湖滿眼絕風波，
那得移家畫裏過。
髮借老慵終日看，
臥游寧止勝情多。

外生子唐待石谷作是圖畢，便擬攜去平陵，余留翫竟日因題，半園昭

INSCRIPTION WRITER'S SEALS

Ban Yuan 半園

Piling Kongming 毗陵孔明

COLLECTORS' SEALS

She Nong 余農 (1847–?)

Tiefeng shi shangjian 錢峰氏賞鑑

Li Songyun 李松筠 (active late nineteenth century)

Wuxing Songyun zhencang 吳興松筠珍藏

Pang Yuanji 龐元濟 (1864–1949)

Xu Zhai shending 虛齋審定

Unidentified

Jingzhi zhi zhang 靜芷之章

Qinchuangyin Fang zhencang 琴窗吟舫珍藏

Illegible (one)

PUBLISHED REFERENCE

Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu 1986–2001, vol. 22 (2000), p. 208, Jing 1-4388

1. Unless otherwise stated, all translations in this Catalogue section are by Shi-ye Liu.

2. Several Chinese towns have been named Pingling in the past and thus it cannot be determined to which Tang Yuzhao referred in his colophon. See Dai Junliang 2005, vol. 1, p. 782.



3

Wang Hui (1632–1717)

Clearing after Rain over Streams and Mountains

溪山雨霽

Xishan yuji

Dated 1662

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 44 ½ x 17 ¾ in. (113 x 45.1 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of John M. Crawford Jr., 1988 (1989.363.141)

ARTIST'S INSCRIPTION AND SIGNATURE

(3 columns in standard script)

In the first decade of the fifth month of the *renyin* year [June 16–25, 1662], [I painted] *Clearing after Rain over Streams and Mountains* in the style of Juran. Wang Hui from Yushan

壬寅五月上澣倣巨然溪山雨霽圖。虞山王翬

ARTIST'S SEAL

Wang Hui zhi yin 王翬之印

LABEL STRIP

Zhang Daqian 張大千 (1899–1983)

(1 column in running-standard script)

Wang Shigu's [Wang Hui's] *Clearing after Rain over Streams and Mountains*, in the collection of the Hall of Great Wind [Dafeng Tang]

王石谷溪山雨霽圖，大風堂藏

COLLECTORS' SEALS

Zhang Daqian 張大千 (1899–1983)

Dafeng Tang zhenwan 大風堂珍玩

John M. Crawford, Jr. (1913–1988)

Hanguang Ge zhu Gu Luofu jian cang Zhongguo gudai shuhua zhi zhang 漢光閣主顧洛阜鑒藏中國古代書畫之章

Hanguang Ge 漢光閣

Gu Luofu 顧洛阜

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Zhang Daqian 1955–56, vol. 4, pl. 39; Aschwin Lippe in *Collection of John M. Crawford, Jr.* 1962, p. 163, no. 81; *Collection of John M. Crawford, Jr.* 1965, pp. 39–40, no. 65; *Dix Siècles de peinture chinoise* 1966, no. 57; Weng 1978, pp. XXV, 124–25, no. 57; John M. Crawford, Jr., *Collection* 1984, p. 44, no. 150

4

pl. 3

Wang Hui (1632–1717)

Landscape in the Style of Juran

倣巨然山水

Fang Juran shanshui

Dated 1664

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 51 ¾ x 25 ¾ in. (131 x 65.5 cm)

Princeton University Art Museum, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse (Y1979-1)

ARTIST'S INSCRIPTION AND SIGNATURE

(4 columns in standard script)

Mountains and streams round and full;
Grass and trees resplendent and lush.

In the spring of the *jiachen* year [1664], following the brushwork of Juran, [painted] for the venerable Xiu on the old gentleman's birthday, Wang Hui¹

山川渾厚，
草木華滋。

甲辰春倣巨然筆為修翁老先生壽，王翬



ARTIST'S SEALS

Wang Hui 王翬

Shangxia gujin 上下古今

COLOPHON

Wu Hufan 吳湖帆 (1894–1968)

(above the painting; 1 horizontal line of 4 large characters and 4 columns in standard script)

Light transmitted from Huanghe [Wang Meng, 1308–1385]

This painting's brush method may be traced back to that of master Ju[ran, active ca. 960–85] through that of Wang Shuming [Wang Meng], therefore, its "breath and soul" are heroic and full, and it may be reckoned a masterpiece by Qinghui [Wang Hui]. Wu Hufan inscribed.

黃鶴傳鑑

此圖筆法自王叔明上溯巨師，故氣魄雄厚，堪稱清暉甲觀。吳湖帆題

COLOPHON WRITER'S SEALS

Meijing Shuwu 梅景書屋

Wu Hufan 吳湖帆

COLLECTORS' SEALS

Wang Jiqian 王季遷 (C. C. Wang, 1907–2003)

Wang shi Jiqian zhencang zhi yin 王氏季遷珍藏之印

Earl Morse (1908–1988)

Musi shoucang mingji 穆思收藏名跡

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Tseng 1956, no. 48; Fong 1969, p. 179; Whitfield 1969, pp. 105–7, no. 13

1. Translation modified from Whitfield 1969, p. 105.

5

pl. 20

Wang Hui (1632–1717)

Reading Next to the Window in the Mountains

山窗讀書

Shan chuang dushu

Dated 1666

Hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper, 63 x 16 ½ in. (160 x 42 cm)

Palace Museum, Beijing

ARTIST'S INSCRIPTION AND SIGNATURE

(2 columns in standard script)

Reading Next to the Window in the Mountains

Respectfully painted for Mr. Zaoru [Wang Shan, 1645–1728] in celebration of his receiving recommendation [to office] this autumn.¹ On the ninth day of



the ninth [lunar] month in the *bingwu* year [October 6, 1666], Wang Hui from Yushan

山窗讀書圖

奉賀藻儒先生秋薦之喜。時丙午九月九日，虞山王翬

ARTIST'S SEAL

Wang Hui zhi yin 王翬之印

PUBLISHED REFERENCE

Zhongguo huihua quanji 1997–, vol. 24 (2000), p. 12, pl. 13

1. Wang Shan was the eighth son of Wang Shimin (1592–1680).

He later played a role in recruiting Wang Hui to undertake the project of painting the emperor's second Southern Inspection Tour. For his biography, see "Wang Shan" by Fang Chao-ying in Hummel 1943–44, pp. 830–31.

6

pls. 21, 22A,B

Wang Hui (1632–1717)

Summer Mountains, Misty Rain

夏山煙雨

Xiashan yanyu

Dated 1668

Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 16 ½ x 97 in. (41.8 x 246.4 cm)

Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, Gift of the Tang Foundation, presented by Leslie, Martin, and Nadine Tang in celebration of Jack C. C. Tang's sixtieth birthday (B87D8)

ARTIST'S INSCRIPTION AND SIGNATURE

(4 columns in standard script)

Summer Mountains, Misty Rain

During the first decade of the eighth [lunar] month in the *wushen* year [September 6–15, 1668], the Mountain Man of Mount Wumu [Wumu Shanzhongren], Wang Hui, painted this while a guest in Suzhou.

夏山煙雨

歲在戊申八月上澣，烏目山中人王翬畫於蘇臺客舍

ARTIST'S SEAL

Wang Hui zhi yin 王翬之印

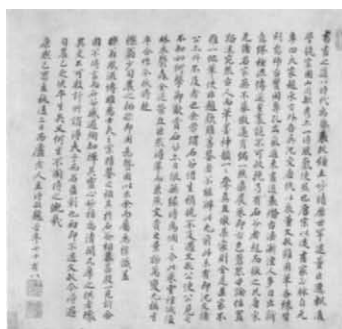
COLOPHON

Wang Shimin 王時敏 (1592–1680), dated 1669 (18 columns in standard script)

Calligraphy and painting have sometimes flourished, sometimes declined, but rarely has the world seen masterpieces that rival those of Zhong You [151–230] and Wang Xizhi [303–361]. Students of painting in later times have tried to follow the superior path of Dong Yuan [active 930s–60s] and Juran [active ca. 960–85], but although the mountains and rivers inspired them with beauty, they were nevertheless dependent on the fashions of the time.

After the Tang and Song periods the Orthodox lineage in painting continued from the four great masters of the Yuan period and Zhao Mengfu to men of my region of Wu [Suzhou]. There were men like Shen Zhou [1427–1509], Wen Zhengming [1470–1559], Tang Yin [1470–1523], Qiu Ying [ca. 1495–1552], and finally Dong Wenmin [Dong Qichang, 1555–1636]. Although each of them had his own brush style, they all derived inspiration from the old masters and expressed themselves in a like manner.

But in recent times the way of painting has declined; the ancient methods have been lost. As most people have tried to express new ideas, misconceptions have arisen and been spread, leading irrevocably to dead ends.



Now Shigu [Wang Hui] has come and is reviving this tradition. He has closely followed the great masters of the Tang, Song, and Yuan [dynasties]. Even when casually done, his works radiate the ancient spirit. Not only do the compositions and individual motifs resemble the ancients', but the spirit-resonance of his brushwork also captures the essence of theirs. Furthermore, when he follows a particular old master, his painting looks entirely like his model with no trace of other masters' works. Without his inscription, even a discerning connoisseur cannot tell the difference. Such ability is unprecedented. Even Shen Zhou, Wen Zhengming, and the others like them cannot rival him. As I once said, it is a pity that Shigu was born a little too late to meet Master Wenmin [Dong Qichang], and had Wenmin met him, how greatly he would have been amazed. Shigu himself also deplores missing the opportunity, being filled with regret every now and then.

This scroll, in which clouds and mist drift over dense woods, was painted entirely in the brush manner of Yingqiu [Li Cheng, 919–967] and Juran, with a rich variety of small scenes that is characteristic of Yan Wengui [active ca. 970–1030]. It is a particularly great work in his oeuvre. This autumn he will go to visit Vice Minister of Revenue Liweng [Zhou Lianggong, 1612–1672] at his invitation and will bring this painting as a present. Therefore, he showed it to me and asked me to inscribe it. Elegant and erudite, Liweng is the leader of scholar-officials and the patriarch of connoisseurs. He is a great admirer of Shigu. Naturally he will feel a joyful affinity upon meeting him. As for Shigu, who is devoted to someone who appreciates his talent, he will exhaust his brilliant mind and marvelous fingers to create numerous masterpieces to be treasured in a clean, secluded scholar's studio. It is like the old saying, "Thanks to Confucius's [praise], [Boyi and Shuqi, both active eleventh century B.C.E.] became more renowned."¹ Although he could not meet Wenmin, to now be appreciated by the vice minister is the opportunity of a lifetime. What is there to regret about being born in a different time?

Two days after the first day of autumn [liqiu] in the jiyou year of the Kangxi reign [July 30, 1669], the Old Man of the Western Cottage [Xilu Laoren], Wang Shimin, inscribed this at the age of seventy-eight.

書畫之道以時代為盛衰，故鍾王妙蹟歷世罕逮。董巨逸軌後學競宗，固山川毓秀，亦一時風氣使然也。唐宋以後，畫家正脈自元季四大家、趙承旨外，吾吳沈文唐仇以泉董文敏，雖用筆各殊，皆刻意師古，實同鼻孔出氣。邇來畫道衰潛，古法漸湮，人多自出新意，繆種流傳，遂至衰詭不可救挽，乃有石谷者起而振之。凡唐宋元諸名家無不摹仿逼肖，偶一點染，展卷即古色蒼然。毋論位置豁逕宛然古人，而筆墨神韻一一奪真，且仿某家則全是某家，不雜一他筆，使非題款，雖

善鑒者不能辨。此尤前此未有，即沈文諸公亦所不及者也。余嘗謂石谷惜生稍晚，不及遇文敏公，使公見之，不知如何擊節嘆賞。石谷亦自恨無緣，時為惘惘。今此卷雲煙滅沒林木鬱森，全從營丘、巨然得筆，而兼燕文貴之景物萬變，尤稱生平合作。今秋將赴樸翁少司農之招，欲即用為贊，因以示余，而屬為標識。蓋樸翁風流博雅，為士夫之宗、精鑒之祖。其於石谷相慕甚殷，一見訢合固不待言，而石谷感遇殉知，殫其靈心妙指為清閨几席之供者，環異更不可數計，所謂得夫子而名益彰也。初即不遇文敏，今得遇司農已足快平生矣，又何生不同時之慨哉。康熙己酉立秋後二日西廬老人王時敏題，時年七十有八

COLOPHON WRITER'S SEALS

Guicun 歸邨

Wang Shimin yin 王時敏印

Xilu Laoren 西廬老人

COLLECTORS' SEALS

Zhou Lianggong 周亮工 (1612–1672)

Yuging Zhai zhuren zhang 餘清齋主人章

Laigu Tang 賴古堂

Li Yuan 樸園

Unidentified

Ducun qingshang 杜邨清賞

Xi'nan Wu shi jianshang 溪南吳氏鑑賞

PUBLISHED REFERENCE

Kim 1996, pp. 130–31, fig. 61, pp. 186–87, no. 20

1. This statement comes from the biography of Boyi in Sima Qian, *Shiji* (1959 ed.), vol. 7, chap. 61, p. 2127.

7 pls. 16, 17

Wang Hui (1632–1717)

Autumn Forests at Yushan

虞山楓林

Yushan fenglin

Dated 1668

Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 57 1/2 x 24 3/8 in. (146.2 x 61.7 cm)

Palace Museum, Beijing

ARTIST'S INSCRIPTION AND SIGNATURE

Dated 1668

(5 columns in standard script)

On the sixteenth day of the tenth [lunar] month in the wushen year [November 19, 1668] the venerable Yiren [Gu Mei, 1633–after 1671] came to Yushan to see the maple leaves. He honored me with a visit to my humble studio and told me of his pleasure in visiting this beautiful place. Upon his departure, he asked me to paint its scenery. I therefore painted this scroll to present to him. On the third day after the winter solstice [December 21], your junior, Wang Hui from Yushan

戊申小春既望伊人道長兄過虞山看楓葉，枉駕荒齋述勝遊之樂，臨行并屬余圖其景，因成此幅奉寄。時長至後三日也。虞山弟王翬



ARTIST'S SEAL

Wang Hui zhi yin 王翬之印

LABEL STRIP

Unidentified

(2 columns in standard script)

A genuine work of Wang Gengyan's [Wang Hui's] *Autumn Forests at Yushan* in the style of Dachi [Huang Gongwang, 1269–1354]

[Painted] for Gu Yiren [Gu Mei], Wu Meicun [Wu Weiye] inscribed. In the collection of Zhuchi [Sun Di, active mid-seventeenth century]

王耕煙做大癡虞山楓林圖真跡
贈顧伊人，吳梅村題。竹癡鑒藏

INSCRIPTION

Wu Weiye 吳偉業 (1609–1671), dated 1669
(4 columns in running script)

The scenery of early winter has not yet turned desolate;

The red leaves and green hills are still vivid.

The sight naturally becomes a painting

With Buddhist temples and aged mountain bridges.

I inscribed this painting for my venerable colleague Yiren [Gu Mei] in the twelfth [lunar] month of the wushen year [January 2–31, 1669], Wu Weiye.

初冬景物未蕭條，

紅葉青山色尚嬌。

一幅天然圖畫裏，

維摩僧寺破山橋。

戊申嘉平為伊人社長題畫，吳偉業

INSCRIPTION WRITER'S SEALS

Wu Weiye 吳偉業

Meibua An 梅花菴



COLLECTOR'S SEALS

Wan Chengji 萬承紀 (1766–1826)

Zhiyuantang zhenshang 致遠堂珍賞

Hezhou suocang 鶴舟所藏

Zixue Shanfang jiancang shubua yin 紫雪山房鑒藏書畫印

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Chen Lüsheng 1996, pl. 2; *Zhongguo huihua quanji* 1997–, vol. 24 (2000), p. 13, pl. 14

8

pls. 5, 39A,B

Wang Hui (1632–1717)

The Colors of Mount Taihang

太行山色

Taihang shanse

Dated 1669

Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 10 x 82 ½ in. (25.3 x 209.4 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Ex coll.: C. C. Wang Family, Gift of Douglas Dillon, 1978 (1978.423)

ARTIST'S INSCRIPTION AND SIGNATURE

(6 columns in running script)

Once in the home of a noble family in Guangling [Yangzhou], I saw a small scroll by Guan Tong [active ca. 907–23]. [In it] clouds and peaks race together with a luxuriant and dense air. Truly, it pierced my heart and startled my eyes. Even today I remember a few things from it. Accordingly I have followed its method and made this *Colors of Mount Taihang*. I hope it exhibits some of the deep and heroic atmosphere of the north country, rather than merely posturing with pretty details. Three days after the Midautumn Festival in the *jiyou* year [September 12, 1669], Wang Hui of Yushan [made] and inscribed [this painting].¹

余從廣陵貴戚家見關仝尺幅，雲巒奔會神氣鬱密，真足洞心駭目。予今猶復記憶其一二，遂倣其法作太行山色，似有北地沈雄之氣，不以姿致取妍也。己酉中秋後三日 虞山王翬並識

ARTIST'S SEALS

Shigu 石谷

Chen Hui 臣翬 (Hui, your servitor)

LABEL STRIP

Ziweng 自翬 (unidentified, nineteenth century?) (1 column in standard script)

Shigu's [Wang Hui's] handscroll, *The Colors of Mount Taihang*. Divine class. In the Zhou family collection in Changsha [Hunan Province]. Ziweng inscribed.

石谷太行山色卷，神品，長沙周氏珍藏自翬題記

FRONTISPIECE

Pan Yijun 潘奕雋 (1740–1830), dated 1816

(4 characters in large clerical script, 9 columns in standard script)

A divine class [work] by Shigu [Wang Hui].

In the *bingzi* year of the Jiaqing reign era on the sixth day of the third decade of the fourth [lunar] month [May 22, 1816], [Pan] Yijun inscribed at the Hall of Three Pines.

石谷神品

嘉慶丙子四月下澣六日題於三松堂，奕雋

FRONTISPIECE WRITER'S SEALS

Huaqiao Laopu 華橋老圃

Pan Yijun yin 潘奕雋印

Yi bu Mulan liang deng Tai Dai zai you Huanghai san su Wutai 一扈木蘭兩登泰岱再遊黃海三宿五臺

INSCRIPTION

Wang Shimin 王時敏 (1592–1680), dated 1673

(1 column in large clerical script, 1 column in standard script)

The Colors of Mount Taihang

In the late spring of the *guichou* year [1673], Wang Shimin of Loudong [Taicang] viewed [this painting] and therefore inscribed it.

太行山色

癸丑暮春婁東王時敏觀因題

INSCRIPTION WRITER'S SEALS

Wang Shimin yin 王時敏印

Yanke 煙客

COLOPHONS

Chen Chongben 陳崇本 (active ca. 1775–after 1815) (4 columns in running script)

Fan Zhongli's [Fan Kuan's, ca. 960–ca. 1030] large hanging scroll, *Traveling in Snowy Mountains*, which I once owned, has long since entered the imperial collection. Its brushwork and that of this scroll are extremely similar. One may thus know that in his breast Gengyan [Wang Hui] had deeply attained the hills and valleys of the ancients. Therefore, when he put his brush [to silk, the result was] like this, extremely full. At the beginning is a title by Xilu Laoren [Wang Shimin], from which one may gather his delight in it. [Chen] Chongben recorded.²

余所藏范中立雪山行旅大幅久入石渠寶笈，其筆法與此卷絕相類，始知耕煙胸中深得古人丘壑，故尔下筆如此沈厚。前有西廬老人題字，其為心賞可知也。崇本識

Chen Chongben, dated 1815

(5 columns in running script)

I recently obtained some imitations of the ancients by Gengyan [Wang Hui], four paintings [each measuring] about three feet [ninety-one centimeters] square. Perhaps he intended them for a small standing screen showing the four seasons, but the silk, after more than a hundred years, has not yet been mounted. For the painting of the autumn scene he followed the same draft as for this *Colors of Mount Taihang*. I shall mount [the four paintings] on two hanging scrolls to preserve them for my enjoyment. In the Jiaqing [reign era], the *yihai* year, seventh [lunar] month, second day [August 6, 1815], recorded, [Chen] Chongben³

近獲耕煙摹古四幀，方三尺許，乃作四時小屏幃，絹素經百餘年未裝。其秋景一幀則用此太行山色摹本，爰付裝兩軸以存心賞。嘉慶乙亥七月二日識，崇本

COLOPHON WRITER'S SEAL

Bogong suo cang 伯恭所藏

COLLECTORS' SEALS

Wang Shimin 王時敏 (1592–1680)

Xilu Laoren 西廬老人

Yanke zhenshang 煙客真賞

Wang Wenbo 王文伯 (active ca. 1662–1722)

Guxianglou cangbao 古香樓藏寶

Haiti shending zhenji 海梯審定真跡

Haiti shouding 海梯手定



Chen Chongben 陳崇本 (active ca. 1775–after 1815)
Chongben pingsheng zhenshang 崇本平生真賞
Shangqiu Chen Chongben kaocang yin 商邱陳崇本攷藏印
Shangqiu 商邱

Xu Naipu 許乃普 (*jinsbi*, 1820)
Kanxi Zhai 堪喜齋
Diansheng suocang 滇生所藏
Kanxi Zhai shuhua yin 堪喜齋書畫印
Diansheng Naipu 滇生乃普
Chen Xu Naipu 臣許乃普

Chen Kuilin 陳夔麟 (1855–1928)
Chen Shaoshi xinhai hou jiancang 陳少石辛亥後鑒藏

Zhang Daqian 張大千 (1899–1983)
Dafeng Tang zhencang yin 大風堂珍藏印
Nan bei dong xi zhiyou xiangsui wu bieli 南北東西只有
相隨無別離
Zhang Yuan 張爰
Daqian xi 大千璽

Wang Jiqian 王季遷 (C. C. Wang, 1907–2003)
Wang Jiqian haiwai suojian mingji 王季遷海外所見名跡
Wangshi Jiqian zhencang zhi yin 王氏季遷珍藏之印
Zhuli Guan 竹里館
Ceng cang Wang Jiqian chu 曾藏王季遷處

Earl Morse (1908–1988)
Musi shoucang mingji 穆思收藏名跡
Musi zhencang 穆思珍藏

Unidentified
Shuotang zhenwan 碩堂珍玩
Yu shi suocang 于氏所藏
Yi zisun 宜子孫
Yuan Shi fu 元士父
Hanlin xueshi 翰林學士
Fuxuan miji zhi yin 笈軒秘笈之印

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Chen Kuilin 1915, chap. 2, p. 20; Zhang Dayong 1932,
chap. 4, p. 18; Fong 1969, p. 179; Whitfield 1969,
pp. 108–13, no. 14; Chow 1970, pp. 152–53; Fong 1984,
pp. 188–90, fig. 156; Chen Lüsheng 1996, p. 106;
Hearn in Barnhart, Fong, and Hearn 1996, p. 226,
no. 33; Hearn 1996, p. 162, ill. pp. 164–65, pl. 33

1. Translation modified from Whitfield 1969, p. 108, and Wen
Fong's essay in this volume (p. 27).
2. Translation modified from Whitfield 1969, p. 109.
3. Ibid.

9 pl. 4

Wang Hui (1632–1717)
Snow Clearing, after Li Cheng

倣李成雪霽
Fang Li Cheng xueji

Dated 1669
Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 43 3/4 x 14 in.
(110.8 x 35.5 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Ex
coll.: C. C. Wang Family, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earl
Morse, in honor of Professor Wen Fong, 1978
(1978.13)



ARTIST'S INSCRIPTION AND SIGNATURE
(2 columns in standard script)

On the twenty-second day of *xiaochun* [the tenth
lunar month] in the *jiyou* year [November 15, 1669],
just before setting out for Boxia [Nanjing] and while
my boat was anchored at Piling [Changzhou], I
painted this *Snow Clearing*, after *Li Cheng* under
candlelight. The Mountain Man of Mount Wumu
[Wumu Shanren], Master Stone Valley [Shiguzi],
Wang Hui inscribed.¹

歲次己酉小春念二日，臨發白下，舟泊毘陵，
剪燭作李成雪霽圖。烏目山人石谷子王翬識

ARTIST'S SEALS
Wumu Shangqiao 烏目山樵 (Wood-Gatherer of
Mount Wumu)
Wang Hui zhi yin 王翬之印

COLLECTORS' SEALS
Wang Jiqian 王季遷 (C. C. Wang, 1907–2003)
Wang Jiqian haiwai suojian mingji 王季遷海外所見名跡
Yinluxuan shuhua yin 蔭綠軒書畫印

Earl Morse (1908–1988)
Musi zhencang 穆思珍藏
Musi shoucang mingji 穆思收藏名跡 (on mounting,
not illustrated)

Unidentified
Zbuxue Ting sheng 竹雪亭生
Songjiang Li shi Zhongji zhencang yin 松江李氏中及珍
藏印

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Fong 1969, pp. 178–79; Marilyn Fu and Shen Fu in
Whitfield 1969, pp. 196–98, no. 30

1. Translation modified from Whitfield 1969, p. 196.

10 pl. 28

Wang Hui (1632–1717)
Autumn Mountains, Red Trees
溪山紅樹
Xishan hongshu

Dated 1670
Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 44 1/4 x 15 1/2 in.
(112.4 x 39.5 cm)

National Palace Museum, Taipei

NO ARTIST'S INSCRIPTION OR SIGNATURE

ARTIST'S SEALS
Wang Hui zhi yin 王翬之印
Shigu 石谷
You he buke 有何不可 (Why not this way?)

INSCRIPTION
Wang Shimin 王時敏 (1592–1680), dated 1670
(8 columns in running-standard script)



While this painting by Wang Hui follows the idiom of Wang Meng [1308–1385], its brushwork and design can be traced back to Wang Wei [701–761]. The composition, after the ancients, is quite different from that of Wang Meng. On a spring night, Wang Hui, passing through Loudong [Taicang], brought this painting to show me. I wanted to keep it but, noticing Wang's reluctance to give it up, did not insist, though I was sorely disappointed. At the time, I was suffering from a bad cough, but after enjoying the painting for several days I suddenly recovered. How true is the saying that pleasant stimulation can drive away a man's head cold! On the day after the grains sprouted in the rain [guyu] in the gengxu year [May 5, 1670], the Old Man of the Western Cottage [Xilu Laoren], Wang Shimin, inscribed.

石谷此圖雖做山樵，而用筆措思全以右丞為宗，故風骨高奇，迥出山樵規格之外。春晚過婁攜以見眎，余初欲留之，知其意頗自珍，不忍遽奪，每為悵悵。然余時方苦嗽，得此飽玩累日，霍然失病所在，始知昔人橄愈頭風，良不虛也。庚戌穀雨後一日西廬老人王時敏題

INSCRIPTION WRITER'S SEALS

Zhenji 真寄

Yanke 煙客

Wang Shimin yin 王時敏印

COLOPHONS

Yun Shouping 惲壽平 (1633–1690)

(14 columns and 5 columns in running-standard script, on paper mounted above the painting), dated 1670

Wumu Shanren [Wang Hui] once told me, "I have seen no fewer than twenty genuine works by Wang Shuming [Wang Meng] in my life. Among them there are three that are most extraordinary. From *Thatched Hall in Autumn Mountains* I came to understand his methods. I saw *Summer Mountains* at Tang [Yuzhao's] in Piling [Changzhou] and grasped his subtle taste. Finally I viewed *Buddhist Temple and Mountain Passes*. It opened my eyes and enlightened my mind. I investigated all the transformations he made and fully realized that *Autumn Mountains* has a natural delicacy and moistness, *Summer Mountains* appears ponderously dense and ancient, and *Mountain Passes*, though fragmentary in terms of structure, exhibits an extraordinary untrammelled flair that cannot be judged in the usual way."

Thus, Mr. Wang's art advanced, knowing that his former works modeled after Shanqiao [Wang Meng] were done without true understanding. After some long and deep thought, Shigu [Wang Hui] playfully blended the brush methods of the three paintings into one composition at his leisure. He rid himself of old mannerisms and developed fresh ideas. [The painting] is energetic and free, capturing the lasting flavor of Shanqiao's work in its entirety.

When Shigu came from Suzhou this summer, I searched his luggage and found this scroll. It absolutely amazed me. Shigu, too, took great pride in it and would not, it seemed, even exchange it for fifteen towns. I placed it on my desk. Having perused it for more than ten days, I inscribed these few remarks before returning it to him. Even to Xilu Laoren [Wang Shimin], who truly treasured and appreciated art, Shigu could not let go of this beloved work. How could people like me presume to keep it long for private enjoyment! In the fifth [lunar] month in the

summer of the gengxu year [1670], Nantian Caoyi Yun Ge from Piling inscribed in the Studio of Quiet Chanting [Jingxiao Ge].

鳥目山人為余言，生平所見王叔明真跡，不下廿餘本。而真跡中最奇者有三，吾從秋山草堂一幀寤其法，於毘陵唐氏觀夏山圖會其趣，最後見關山蕭寺本，一洗凡目，煥然神明。吾窮其變焉，大諦秋山天然秀潤，夏山鬱密沈古，關山圖則離披零亂，飄灑盡致，殆不可以徑轍求之。而王郎于是乎進矣，因知向者之所為山樵，猶在雲霧中也。石谷沉思既久，暇日戲彙三圖筆意於一幀，芟盪陳規，發揮新意，徇翔放肆，而山樵始無餘蘊。今夏石谷自吳門來，余搜行笈得此幀，驚歎欲絕。石谷亦沾沾自喜，有十五城不易之狀，置余案頭摩挲十餘日，題數語歸之。蓋以西廬老人之矜賞，而石谷尚不能割所愛，矧余輩安能久假為韞櫝之玩耶。庚戌夏五月毘陵南田草衣惲格題於靜嘯閣

I happened to stop by the water pavilion of the Xu family and found that this painting had been acquired by Mr. Pan [Pan Yuanbo, active 1660–70] of Jinsha [Yixing]. I felt surprised and very jealous. Without a listener who understands music, an instrument loses its power. Could it be that Xilu's [Wang Shimin's] and my own appreciation of art do not compare with Mr. Pan's! Crazy Mi [Mi Fu, 1052–1107] would shout [for joy when looking at artworks] on his boat. This is understandable and worthy of emulation! I wonder how Shigu [Wang Hui] will face our mockery upon meeting Xilu or me in the future. In winter, the tenth [lunar] month, Nantian Yun Ge again inscribed.

偶過徐氏水亭見此幀，乃為金沙潘君所得，既怪嘆且妒甚。不對賞音，牙微不發，豈西廬南田之矜賞，尚不及潘君哉。米顛據舷而呼，信是可人韻事，真足效慕也。但未知石谷他日見西廬南田何以解嘲。冬十月南田惲格又題

COLOPHON WRITER'S SEALS

Zhengshu 正叔

Shouping 壽平

Natian caoyi 南田草衣

COLLECTORS' SEALS

Qianlong emperor 乾隆帝 (r. 1736–95)

Qianlong yulan zhi bao 乾隆御覽之寶

Qianlong jianshang 乾隆鑑賞

Shiqu baoji 石渠寶笈

Yi zisun 宜子孫

Sanxi Tang jingjian xi 三希堂精鑒璽

Shiqu dingjian 石渠定鑒

Baoji chongbian 寶笈重編

Yu Shufang jiangang bao 御書房鑒藏寶

Jiaqing emperor 嘉慶帝 (r. 1796–1820)

Jiaqing yulan zhi bao 嘉慶御覽之寶

Xuantong emperor 宣統帝 (r. 1909–11)

Xuantong yulan zhi bao 宣統御覽之寶

Xuantong jianshang 宣統鑒賞

Wuyi Zhai jingjian xi 無逸齋精鑒璽

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Wang Hui hualu 1970, pp. 27–30, no. 5; Gugong shuhua tulu 1989–, vol. 10 (1992), p. 177; Chen Lüsheng 1996, p. 48; Fong 1996c, pp. 479, 481, pl. 277

1. Translation from Fong 1996c, p. 479.

Wang Hui (1632–1717)

Landscape after Fan Kuan's "Travelers amid Streams and Mountains"

倣范寬溪山行旅

Fang Fan Kuan Xishan xinglǚ

Ca. 1671

Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 61 1/8 x 29 1/4 in. (155.3 x 74.4 cm)

National Palace Museum, Taipei

NO ARTIST'S INSCRIPTION, SIGNATURE, OR SEAL

INSCRIPTION

Qianlong emperor 乾隆帝 (r. 1736–95), dated 1757 (6 columns in running script)

The mountains more heroic than elegant,
And waterfalls more rapid than wide,
Such is the scenery of our northern land,
Where travelers sing, "How difficult is the road ahead!"
Gusts make ten thousand leaves fly,
Where clouds rise through distant peaks.
How the simpler methods of the Four [Yuan] Masters,
All follow this painting as their noble ancestor!¹

In the third [lunar] month of the dingchou year in the Qianlong reign era [April 18–May 17, 1757], the emperor inscribed.

山容雄勝秀，水勢急非寬。
大是北方景，誰歌行路難。
風疑生萬葉，雲欲出遙巒。
簡淡四家法，於斯鼻祖看。
乾隆丁丑三月御題

INSCRIPTION WRITER'S SEALS

Qianlong chenban 乾隆宸翰

Jixia linchi 幾暇臨池

COLOPHONS

Wang Shimin 王時敏 (1592–1680), dated 1671 (6 columns in standard script)

Of the Song and Yuan masterpieces in my family collection, two-fifths were acquired in the capital and the other three-fifths were acquired from Dong Qichang [1555–1636]. I loved them no less than essential parts of my own body. With the passage of time and as circumstances have changed, only one- or two-tenths of what I once owned still remains. Recently, going through an old trunk, I brought out this Fan Huayuan [Fan Kuan, ca. 960–ca. 1030] *Travelers*. Its silk in perfect condition, the radiantly brilliant work is truly a divine object! I am now in my eightieth year. Retired from worldly affairs, I devote myself to studying ancient masterworks for amusement. Having remounted this scroll, I mark the occasion with these words.² On the Midautumn Day [fifteenth of the eighth lunar month] of the xinbai year [September 17, 1671], Xilu Laoren Wang Shimin inscribed.

余家所藏宋元名蹟，得之京師者十之四，得之董其昌者十之六，余寶愛之，不啻頭目髓腦。歲月如流，人事遷改，向者所藏僅存一二。今檢舊笥得范華原行旅圖，絹素完好，英采煥發，真神物也。余年八十，屏謝塵事，惟對古人筆墨聊以自怡，裝成因並志之。辛亥中秋日西廬老人王時敏題



Song Junye 宋駿業 (ca. 1662–1713), dated 1696
(6 columns in standard script)

At Xitian by the Lou River is a bamboo cottage with paper-paned windows. It is the place where Mr. Yanke [Wang Shimin] keeps the paintings and calligraphies in his collection. On his desk I had the opportunity to view this genuine work of Fan Huayuan [Fan Kuan], a scarcely seen rarity. With pervasive mist and clouds and groves of dense trees, it caught my attention and overwhelmed me. Only then did I realize how extraordinary was the ancients' brushwork, which inspired my utmost admiration. Shiguzi [Wang Hui] was there at the time. He spent a whole day making a copy of it in reduced size to give me so that I might enjoy a virtual Huayuan painting. I inscribed these few casual remarks to express my joy. On the sixteenth of the third [lunar] month in the *bingzi* year during the Kangxi reign [April 17, 1696], your junior colleague, Song Junye

婁水之西田有紙窗竹屋，烟客先生藏書畫之所。案頭得觀范華原真蹟，世所罕見。覺煙雲滿幅，樹木叢密，令人奪目駭心。方知古人用筆不凡，欣仰之至。石谷子是時在座，以竟日摹一縮本，贈余以遺興懷，亦得華原面目。漫識數言，以誌喜云。康熙丙子三月既望後學宋駿業

COLOPHON WRITERS' SEALS

Wang Shimin 王時敏 (1592–1680)
Zhenqu 真趣
Xilu Laoren 西廬老人
Wang Shimin 王時敏

Song Junye 宋駿業 (ca. 1662–1713)
Illegible (one)

COLLECTORS' SEALS

Wang Shimin 王時敏 (1592–1680)
Yanke jianchang 烟客鑒藏
Taiyuan Wang Xunzhi shi shoucang tusbu 太原王遜之氏收藏圖書
Wang Xunzhi shubua ji 王遜之書畫記

Wang Yuanqi 王原祁 (1642–1715)
Saobua An 掃花庵

Bian Yongyu 卞永譽 (1645–1712)
Shigu Tang shubua 式古堂書畫

Qianlong emperor 乾隆帝 (r. 1736–95)
Qianlong yulan zhi bao 乾隆御覽之寶
Qianlong jianshang 乾隆鑒賞
Shiqu baoji 石渠寶笈
Yi zisun 宜子孫

Sanxi Tang jingjian xi 三希堂精鑒璽
Shiqu dingjian 石渠定鑒
Baoji chongbian 寶笈重編
Guxi tianzi 古希天子
Wufuwudai Tang guxi tianzi bao 五福五代堂古稀天子寶
Shou 壽
Bazheng maonian zhi bao 八徵耄念之寶

Jiaqing emperor 嘉慶帝 (r. 1796–1820)
Jiaqing yulan zhi bao 嘉慶御覽之寶

Xuantong emperor 宣統帝 (r. 1909–11)
Xuantong yulan zhi bao 宣統御覽之寶

Xuantong jianshang 宣統鑒賞
Wuyi Zhai jingjian xi 無逸齋精鑒璽

Unidentified

Huafeng Zburen jiating 華峰主人鑑定
Yiqing Lou zhenshang yin 挹青樓珍賞印
Shanyin Xu Yi'an zhencang 山陰徐宜菴珍藏

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Gugong shubua lu 1956, vol. 2, chap. 5, pp. 37–38; Gugong shubua tulu 1989–, vol. 1 (1989), pp. 169–70; Fong 1996c, pp. 482–84, fig. 163 and pl. 278

1. Translation by Wen C. Fong.

2. Ibid.

12 pls. 29, 30

Wang Hui (1632–1717)

Clearing after Snow at Shanyin, after Wang Wei
倣王維山陰霽雪

Fang Wang Wei Shanyin jixue

Dated 1671

Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 8 3/4 in. x 8 ft.

11 1/2 in. (21.2 x 273.5 cm)

National Palace Museum, Taipei

ARTIST'S INSCRIPTION AND SIGNATURE

(3 columns in standard script)

Clearing after Snow at Shanyin

On a winter day in the *xinhai* year [1671], the Mountain Man of Mount Wumu [Wumu Shanzhongren], Master Stone Valley [Shiguzi], Wang Hui, painted in the manner of Youcheng [Wang Wei, 701–761].

山陰霽雪

歲次辛亥冬日，烏目山中人石谷子王翬仿右丞筆

ARTIST'S SEALS

Wang Hui zhi yin 王翬之印
Shigu 石谷
You he buke 有何不可

COLOPHON

Da Chongguang 笈重光 (1623–1692)
(11 columns in running-cursive script)

Life away from the remote mountains can be hectic. In my mind I long for the liberation of roaming in snow. How could I expect that through Wang Wei's hand My vision would be transported to the woody hills?¹

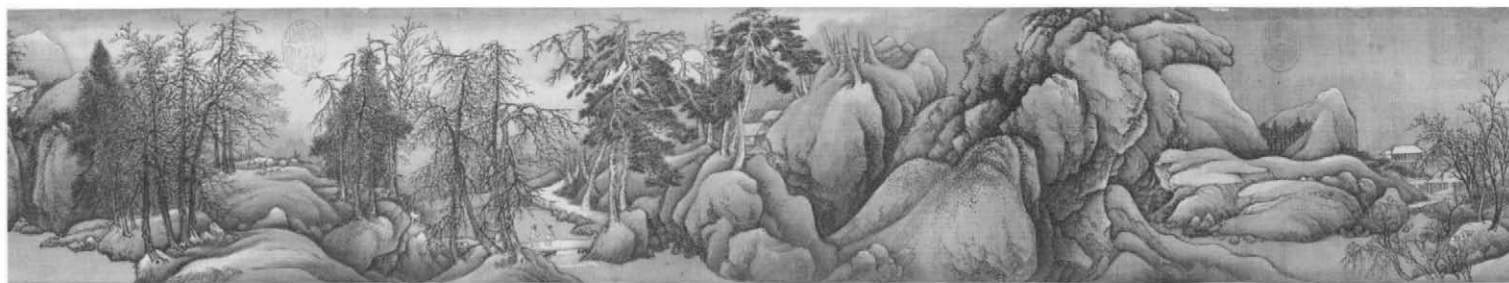
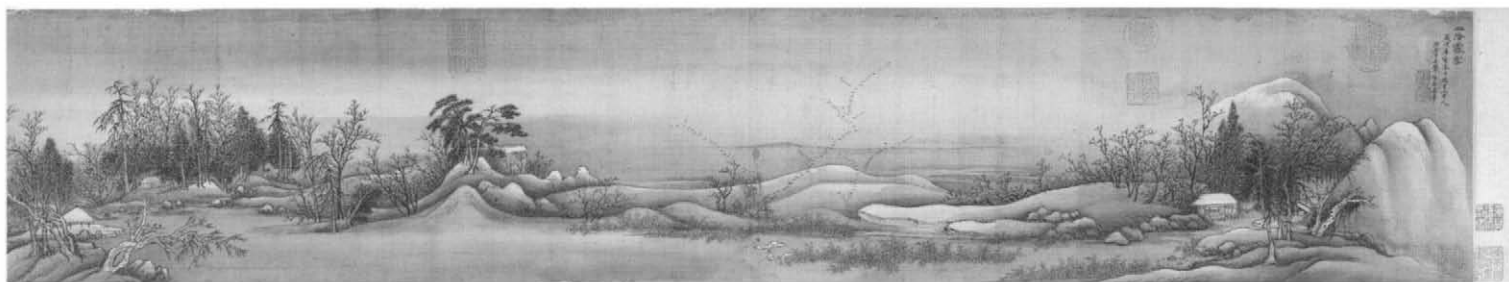
Inscribing Wang Shigu's [Wang Hui's] *Clearing after Snow at Shanyin, after Wang Wei* at the Jin Garden of Mr. Yang [Yang Zhaolu, *jinsbi*, 1652] in Jinling [Changzhou], Jiangshang Waishi Da Chongguang

離得深山有底忙，
每思踏雪倍清狂。
何當卻藉王維手，
送我雙眸到鬱崗。

題王石谷臨右丞山陰霽雪圖。時在晉陵楊氏之近園，江上外史笈重光

COLOPHON WRITER'S SEALS

Jiangshang Waishi 江上外史
Da Chongguang yin 笈重光印
Echi Ge 鵝池閣



12

COLLECTORS' SEALS

Qianlong emperor 乾隆帝 (r. 1736–95)

Qianlong yulan zhi bao 乾隆御覽之寶

Qianlong jianshang 乾隆鑑賞

Shiqu baoji 石渠寶笈

Yi zisun 宜子孫

Sanxi Tang jingjian xi 三希堂精鑒璽

Shiqu dingjian 石渠定鑒

Baoji chongbian 寶笈重編

Yangxin Dian jiancang bao 養心殿鑒藏寶

Jiaqing emperor 嘉慶帝 (r. 1796–1820)

Jiaqing yulan zhi bao 嘉慶御覽之寶

Xuantong emperor 宣統帝 (r. 1909–11)

Xuantong yulan zhi bao 宣統御覽之寶

Unidentified

Tanqin fu changxiao 彈琴復長嘯

Donglai Jun shoucang shubua yinji 東萊郡收藏書畫印記

Lü Fangjia yin 呂方嘉印

Xiting 西亭

Weichuan xianguan 渭川閒綸

Nanyang 南陽

Zhongsan liuyin 中散流音

Fangqing qinhuo 放情丘壑

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Wang Hui bualu 1970, pp. 31–34, no. 6; Xu Bangda and Xue Yongnian 1999, pl. 14; Gugong shubua tulü 1989–, vol. 20 (2001), pp. 151–56

1. Yugang, translated here as “woody hills,” is also Da Chongguang’s style name.

13

pls. 6, 27

Wang Hui (1632–1717)

Mist Floating on a Distant Peak, in Imitation of Juran

倣巨然煙浮遠岫

Fang Juran yanfu yuanxiu

Dated 1672

Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 76 x 28 1/8 in. (193 x 71.5 cm)

Princeton University Art Museum, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse (y1973-9)

ARTIST'S INSCRIPTIONS AND SIGNATURES

(6 columns in standard script and 4 columns in standard script)

Juran's Mist Floating on a Distant Peak. Inscribed by the Huizong emperor of the Song dynasty [Juran's] hanging scroll, famous throughout the land, is in the collection of the Hanlin Academician Zhuang Dan'an [Zhuang Jiongsheng, 1627–1679] of Piling [Changzhou]. If any work may be compared with *Residents of the Capital* [Longsu jiaomin] by Beiyuan [Dong Yuan, active 930s–60s] and be worth a thousand pieces of silver, then this is the one. The Shiyu [Censor] Jiangshang [Da Chongguang, 1623–1692] and I had the good fortune of seeing it in the autumn of the renzi year [1672]. Jiangshang, an expert connoisseur, asked me to imitate it. Although my clumsy brushwork cannot compare with that of the ancient master in structure and spirit-resonance, I have managed to approximate it. The Man under Mount Wumu [Wumu Shanxiaren], Wang Hui

巨然煙浮遠岫圖 宋徽宗題

此幀著聲海內，在毘陵莊澹菴太史家，與北苑龍宿郊民圖價重千金者即此幀也。江上侍御與余獲觀于壬子之秋，審玩精確，俾余摹之。雖拙筆不逮古人，而規模神韻庶幾得其大概云。鳥目山下人王翬

This painting by Juran does not make use of any paths, streams, buildings, boats, or bridges. It depends solely on broad and heroic compositional forces [shi]. Deep in the mountains, where even woodcutters and shepherds do not reach, one often encounters true scenery such as this. This is the real style of Master Ju. It may be termed a work of the untrammelled class [yipin]. New Year's Day of the guichou year [February 17, 1673], Wang Hui made a second record.¹

巨然此圖不用道路水口屋宇舟梁，唯以雄渾之勢取勝，每每至深山樵牧不到處遇此真景，在巨公本色更為逸品。癸丑元日王翬再識

ARTIST'S SEALS

Wang Hui zhi yin 王翬之印 (square, relief)

Wang Hui zhi yin 王翬之印 (square, intaglio)

Wumu Shangqiao 烏目山樵

Zi Shigu 字石谷

You he buke 有何不可

INSCRIPTIONS

Wang Shimin 王時敏 (1592–1680)

(10 columns in standard script)

I had longed my entire life to admire Juran's *Mist Floating on a Distant Peak*, but had never set eyes on it until the autumn of the xinbai year [1671], when I finally saw it in the Garden of the Inept Administrator

[Zhuozheng Yuan]. Unfortunately, it was like the visions that Qingxi [Ananda, one of Buddha's principal disciples] had of the Buddha preaching, for after seeing it once, I never saw it again. Toward the end of the *renzi* year [1672], brother Shigu [Wang Hui], on his way back from Jingkou, turned his boat aside to pay me a visit. He told me that he had made a copy for the Censor Zaiweng [Da Chongguang]. He happened to have the painting in his bag and brought it out to show me. As I unroll and examine it, I find the ink lustrous and brilliant, and a primal breath [*yuanqi*] fills the composition. A feeling of joyful exhilaration moves freely in it, and the texture strokes are divinely inspired. Since [this painting] has already opened a new life for Master Ju, why should I want the original? Shilao [Wang Hui] is certainly an artist whose craft competes with creation itself; yet without Zaiweng's connoisseurship and deep friendship, how could such a masterpiece be produced? For myself, aged and infirm, the very opportunity to exclaim over such a scroll may be considered a remarkable coincidence. Thus, I especially inscribe this above the painting to mark an important event in the history of art and also to note my own good fortune. An eighty-one-year-old man of Loudong [Taicang], Wang Shimin



巨然煙浮遠岫圖余一生想慕未得寓目，辛亥秋獲觀於拙政園，惜如慶喜見阿闍佛，一見更不再見。壬子殘臘石谷兄從京口歸，紆棹過訪，云為在翁侍御臨摹一幀適攜篋中，出以見眎。展觀墨光映射，元氣磅礴，興愜飛動，皴法入神，已為巨公重開生面，復何有於真跡。石老固巧奪天工，然非在翁精鑑深契，安得此殉知之合。即余暮年癡篤，猶及披圖歎賞，洵亦奇緣，特書其端，用識藝林勝事，併以自幸云爾。婁東八十一老人王時敏題

Wang Jian 王鑑 (1598–1677)
(8 columns in running script)

When Zhuang Danweng [Zhuang Jiongsheng] first acquired [the original] painting by Juran, he especially brought it to Wumen [Suzhou] to show me. That was nearly twenty years ago. I have often seen it in my dreams. This winter, brother Shigu [Wang Hui], on his way through Lou[dong], showed me this scroll, which he has made for the Censor Zaiweng. In its distant and subtle effects it almost surpasses the original. Even though the brilliant metamorphosis of the brushwork comes from Wang Hui's natural gifts, might he not have tossed away this pearl that glows in the night [*yeguang*] had he not met Zaiweng's discerning eye? I would like to congratulate myself privately on encountering three great happy events in one day: I have actually seen a living reincarnation of Juran; I have admired at a distance the cultured air of Zaiweng; and I have come into close contact with Shigu's personal manner. At the close of the year, impoverished and sorrowed, to obtain this suffices to comfort me. Incribed by Wang Jian of the Fragrance-Tinged Studio [Ranxiang An]²

巨然此圖莊澹翁初歸時持攜至吳門示余，屈指幾二十年於茲矣，時形之夢寐。今冬石谷兄過婁，出其為在翁侍御所臨此幀，遠澹幽微，有出藍之妙。雖筆端神化乃天性使然，若不過在翁法眼，豈不虛投夜光。余幸一日之間得三大快事，直觀巨然生面，遙瞻在翁風雅，親接石谷丰儀，歲底窮愁，得此足以自慰矣。染香庵王鑑題

INSCRIPTION WRITERS' SEALS
Wang Shimin 王時敏 (1592–1680)
Wang Shimin yin 王時敏印
Yanke 煙客
Zhenji 真寄

Wang Jian 王鑑 (1598–1677)
Wang Jian zhi yin 王鑑之印
Langye 琅邪

COLLECTORS' SEALS³
Unidentified (two)

PUBLISHED REFERENCES
Fong 1969, p. 179; Whitfield 1969, pp. 114–18, no. 15

1. Translations of Wang Hui's two inscriptions modified from Whitfield 1969, pp. 114, 115.
2. Translations of Wang Shimin's and Wang Jian's inscriptions modified from *ibid.*, pp. 114–15.
3. This painting, formerly in the Saito Collection, Osaka, is accompanied by a box with an inscription by Naito Konan (1866–1934). For a translation of Naito's text, see *ibid.*, p. 116.

14

pls. 8–11, 31–38

Wang Hui (1632–1717)

In Pursuit of Antiquity: Landscapes after Song and Yuan Masters

趨古

Qu gu

Dated 1673

Album of twelve paintings, nine in ink on paper and three in ink and color on paper, 6%–8% x 11%–13% in. (17.6–22.6 x 29.8–33.5 cm)

Princeton University Art Museum, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse (y1973-67a-1)

ARTIST'S INSCRIPTION AND SIGNATURE¹
(4 columns in standard script, on Leaf L)

In the *guichou* year [1673], ninth [lunar] month, autumn, visiting at the Secret Garden [Mi Yuan] of Mr. Li [Zongkong, 1618–1701] of Weiyang [Yangzhou], I imitated a number of Song and Yuan styles in small paintings, to be sent to my revered master, the Vice Minister of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices Yanweng [Wang Shimin, 1592–1680], to wish him a happy life, and also to take the place of waiting on him in person. His student, Wang Hui

癸丑九秋客維揚李氏之祕園，雜倣宋元小品，寄呈煙翁奉常尊先生，景序融和，以當觀對。後學王翬

ARTIST'S SEALS

Shiguzi 石谷子 [A, B, D, J, K, L]
Wang Shigu 王石谷 [C, H]
Wang Hui zhi yin 王翬之印 [F, G]

NOTE ON BROCADE COVER

Shen Bingcheng 沈秉成 (1823–1895)
(6 columns in running script)

Twelve leaves painted by the Mist-Plowing Idler [Gengyan Sanren (Wang Hui)] as a gift for the Vice Minister of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices Yanke [Wang Shimin]—small works after Song and Yuan.

Yanke personally inscribed the two characters, *Qu gu*, "In Pursuit of Antiquity," on one leaf.

Yun Nantian [Yun Shouping, 1633–1690] inscribed successive leaves.

Da Jiangshang [Da Chongguang, 1623–1692] and other noted men, eleven in all, wrote inscriptions.

Recorded by the Studio of Flatfish and Ink Stone [Dieyan Lu (Shen Bingcheng, 1823–1895)].

耕煙散人贈煙客奉常畫十二頁撫宋元小品。煙客自題趨古二字一頁。
惲南田逐開有題。
笈江上諸名賢題凡十一家。
鰈硯廬識

NOTE WRITER'S SEAL

Dieyan Lu zhencang 鰈硯廬珍藏

TITLE

Bi Long 畢瀧 (active 1736–96)
(1 horizontal line and 2 columns in standard script)

Authentic works by Wang Gengyan after Song and Yuan [masters], presented to Master Yanke

王耕煙摹宋元真本，贈煙客先生

TITLE WRITER'S SEAL

Zhuchi miwan 竹癡秘玩



FRONTISPIECE

Wang Shimin 王時敏 (1592–1680)
(2 columns in mixed scripts)

In pursuit of antiquity [Qū gǔ], Shimin

趨古，時敏

FRONTISPIECE WRITER'S SEALS

Wang Shimin yin 王時敏印

Xilu Laoren 西廬老人

COLOPHONS



LEAF AA

Da Chongguang 笪重光 (1623–1692)
(6 columns in running script)

Too lazy to imitate the *Apology* [Jiechao] of Yang Xiong
[55 B.C.E.–18 C.E.],

Burning incense, I muse over the diagrams of the
Changes.

Cares of the world touch not my place of leisurely rest,
The blue mountains are my only faithful friends.

Written for Master Yanweng's [Wang Shimin's]
correction, [Da] Chongguang

懶學揚雄作解嘲，
焚香時玩易中爻。
紅塵不到閑眠處，
唯有青山似舊交。
為煙翁先生書政，笪重光

LEAF B

Yun Shouping 惲壽平 (1633–1690)
(4 columns in running-standard script)



Opening to this leaf, I suddenly find myself in a
lonely and uninhabited world of wild cliffs and deep
valleys. The trees cast somber shadows, while moun-
tain torrents and paths wind their way around them.
The scene fills less than one foot [chi], yet one can
roam in it with endless enjoyment. [A painter] must
concentrate his spirit, reflect in solitude, cleanse [his
mind], and emit a supernatural breath [so that] the
powers of his miraculous brush may describe qualities
beyond outward appearances, or he will not easily
achieve such excellence. Shiguzi [Wang Hui] painted
for Master Yanweng [Wang Shimin] this small scene
in the style of Beiyuan [Dong Yuan, active 930s–60s].
Truly, the metamorphosis is divine and brilliant. It is
a masterpiece of the first order. Shouping inscribed.

偶一展對，忽如置身荒崖邃谷寂寞無人之境。
樹影森蕭，磴路盤紆，景不盈尺，游賞無窮。
自非凝神獨照洗發靈氣，妙筆先之機通象外
之趣者，未易臻此。石谷子為煙翁先生擬北
苑小景，真變化神明，第一合作。壽平題

LEAF BB

Da Chongguang 笪重光
(4 columns in running script)

A bamboo mat is perfect for a clear day,
My light robe lets in a cool breeze;
Upon his refusal to take the cash left on the road,
How could Yanling [Ji Zha, sixth century B.C.E.] have
known the old man in sheepskin?
Master Woody Hills [Yugangsheng] inscribed

竹簾偏宜清晝，
絺衣卻受微風。
道上遺金不取，
延陵豈識裘公。
鬱岡生題

LEAF C

Liu Yu 柳埭 (1620–after 1689)
(3 columns in running script)

The willows first touched with green
Rustling far from the water village.
The east wind wafts along as it will,
Not lingering about the Eternal Gate [Changmen]
Palace.²

Liu Yu

楊柳初含綠，
蕭蕭隔水邨。
東風隨意拂，
不願冒長門。
柳埭



LEAF CC

Da Chongguang 笪重光
(6 columns in running script)

The sky is blue, the clouds white, the trees deep deep
green.

A grass hut, a sparse fence, beside a wild bank;
A pair of herdboys firmly astride their buffaloes,
Playing their flutes in the glow of the setting sun.

Written for Master Yanweng [Wang Shimin] to
raise a laugh, Chongguang

天青雲白樹蒼蒼，
茅屋疎籬野岸旁。
兩兩牧童牛背穩，
共將橫笛弄斜陽。
書為煙翁先生博粲，重光



LEAF D

Yun Shouping 惲壽平
(5 columns in standard script)

In the style of Chiweng [Huang Gongwang,
1269–1354] the location of peaks and valleys can be
learned with success, but beyond the brush and ink
there is also a certain rustic and hoary feeling that
cannot be successfully learned. This is why in studying
Chiweng one frequently falls short of attaining excel-
lence. Only the Vice Minister of the Court of Imper-
ial Sacrifices of Loudong [Wang Shimin] and Master
Stone Valley of Yushan [Wang Hui] have been able to
reach this degree. Shouping respectfully records this.

癡翁畫法，丘壑位置皆可學而至，惟筆墨之外別有一種荒率蒼莽之氣，則不可學而至，故學癡翁輒不得佳。能臻斯境者，婁東奉嘗先生與虞山石谷子耳。壽平敬志

Chen Cheng 陳誠 (active second half seventeenth century)
(3 columns in standard script)

In [our] love of brush and ink we are of one heart;
When busy we visit in thought, at leisure we seek each other.

Deep into the night, by a shaded lamp, I watch you painting,

I know not whence comes that limpid sound.

Inscribed on a small scene after Chiweng by the Mountain Man of Mount Wumu [Wumu Shanren] [Wang Hui]. Chen Cheng of Jinling [Nanjing]

為憐筆墨有同心，
忙裏相思暇即尋。
深夜篝燈看作畫，
不知何處發清音。

題烏目山人癡翁小景，金陵陳誠



LEAF E

Yun Shouping 惲壽平
(2 columns in running-standard script)

Shiguzi [Wang Hui] imitating the bamboo, rocks, and dead branches of Yunxi [Cao Zhibo, 1272–1355]. He has a fresh and spirited flavor that one may enjoy without tiring. There is a saying that “even in a spoonful of water there are curves; even in a chip of stone there are hollows.” This painting has attained that quality. Yun Shouping inscribed.

石谷子倣雲西竹石枯槎，靈趣藹然，索玩無盡。昔人所謂一勺水亦有曲處，一片石亦有深處，此圖得之矣。惲壽平題

LEAF F

Yun Shouping 惲壽平
(3 columns in standard script)

When painting, one should sit cross-legged with loosened clothing, as if no one were around. Only then will one hold the powers of metamorphosis in one's hand, and the primal breath [yuanqi] will abound. Unfettered by earlier masters, one will then be able to roam beyond the established rules. Shouping inscribed.



作畫須有解衣盤薄傍若無人意，然後化機在手，元氣狼籍，不為先匠所拘，而游法度之外矣。壽平題

I judge that this painting by Wumu Wang Shanren [Wang Hui] after Shuming [Wang Meng, 1308–1385] is truly enough to frighten away the flock of common painters. It is a treasure that pierces the heart and startles the eye. Inscribed again on the following day.

觀烏木王山人擬叔明本，真足辟易群流，乃洞心駭目之賞也。次日又題

LEAF FF

Da Chongguang 笪重光
(4 columns in running script)

After the rain, spring bamboo fills the forest;
There are also cherries, every one of them round.
I believe that in the mountains things are tasteful;
It makes me sad to think about the feast of the five lords.³

Written to be corrected by Master Yanweng [Wang Shimin]. Chongguang

雨餘春筍滿林穿，
更有櫻桃顆顆圓。
信得山中風味好，
教人愁向五侯筵。
書似烟翁老先生政之，重光



LEAF GG

Yun Shouping 惲壽平, dated 1680
(9 columns in running script)

The mountaintops are black, sunlit but still wet;
At the brush tip the spring clouds are dark and do not open.

The ink-flowers drip, breaking the green mountains.
Leaning on my desk, I suddenly hear the rain coming in the hills.

In early summer of the *gengshen* year [1680],
Nantian Shouping wrote this under the bamboo at the Hall of Visiting Cranes [Helai Tang].

峰頭黛色晴猶濕，
筆底春雲暗不開。
墨華淋漓翠微斷，
隱几忽聞山雨來。

庚申初夏南田壽平題于鶴來堂竹下

Mi father and son [Mi Fu, 1052–1107, and Mi Youren, 1074–1151] and Gao Shangshu [Gao Kegong, 1248–1310] each went his separate way, as did Wang Xi and Xian [Wang Xizhi, 303–361, and his son Wang Xianzhi, 344–388], who rode together with Zhong Yuanchang [Zhong You, 151–230]. Their ways have differences and yet are the same; they have similarities and yet are different. Shouping

米家父子與高尚書分路揚鑣，亦猶王氏義獻與鍾元常並驅，然其門徑有異而同、有同而異者。壽平



LEAF H

Zhou Eryan 周而衍 (active second half seventeenth century)
(3 columns in running-standard script)

The oak leaves are turning yellow, the maple leaves are red,
Walking along, I search for the right phrase; sitting down, I look at the scenery.

Feeling thirsty, I purchase a strained, clear wine,
But before I reach the mountains ahead, the exhilaration is gone.

Zhou Eryan of Jintan [in Changzhou] inscribed for Master Yanweng [Wang Shimin]

槲葉初黃楓葉丹，
行來覓句坐來看。
渴時買得漉清酒，
欲到前山興已闌。

金壇周而衍題，呈煙翁先生

Yun Shouping 惲壽平
(2 columns in running-standard script)

Dense forests and large boulders act as hosts and guests. Beyond the hills, on a flat plain, a man returning travels the only road.

This composition gives the impression of great distance. The brushwork evokes the feeling of a Tang master. I feel that [by comparison] even Wang Jinjing [Wang Shen, ca. 1048–1103] suffered from the ills of “carved painting” [*kebua*].⁴

密林大石相為主賓，山外平原，歸人一徑，位置極遠。觀其運筆，有唐賢之風，覺王晉卿猶傷刻畫。壽平

LEAF HH

Li Zongkong 李宗孔 (1618–1701)
(4 columns in standard script)

Beyond the world of dust, the autumnal glow has a leisure of its own,
Quiet man in a quiet scene, each is concerned only with the other.

Who says that all along the road the scenery looks just like a painting?

The painting is found between the red cliffs and the green trees.

Written on Shigu's [Wang Hui's] small painting for Master Yanweng [Wang Shimin]. Li Zongkong

塵外秋光別樣閒，
幽人幽景自相關。
誰言一路如圖畫，
畫在丹岩碧樹間。

題石谷小景，為烟翁先生。李宗孔

Cheng Sui 程邃 (1605–1691)
(5 columns in running script)

Opening this painting satisfies the wish to discover the beginning [of the road].

In clear dreams, I often roam with Creation;
Without form, without limit, without end,

Beyond the divine continent there are more divine continents.

Wumuzi [Wang Hui] painted for Master Yanweng [Wang Shimin] this small album that catches all the principles and qualities of past and present. In the wielding of the axe it is supernatural and extraordinary. I have lived with it for ten days, and wrote this for [the Master's] correction.

Cheng Sui

披圖可慰尋源想，
清夢常同造物游。
無象無窮無盡極，
神州之外更神州。

烏木子為煙翁先生製小冊，總攬古今之理趣。運斤靈異，坐臥十日題正。程邃

Liu Yu 柳埭

(7 columns in standard script)

The grass and trees are covered with frost and dew,
Red and yellow play one against the other.
Below, the trees look down on the curve of a green stream,

Above, they are on a level with the cold mountains.
The woodcutter finds his way home,
How randomly the wine shops are placed!
Wisps of cloud cling to the rolling cliffs
And a scarlet flag is propped at the corner of a building.

In the morning one follows the brilliantly bright scenery,

In the evening one lives with the beauty of the misty glow.

A rustling stream sweeps along the fallen leaves,
A cool breeze sings on a high plateau.

Leaning on a staff, I often pass such a scene,
Chanting and singing make me only more melancholy.
The world luxuriates in ornamental splendor,
While heroes lose their youthful appearance.
I believe, as a matter of course, that there is still a Dao,

I urge you to think of [the ancient sages] Xuanyuan [the Yellow Emperor] and Qibao.

Of Shiguzi's [Wang Hui's] paintings, I am especially fond of those in the school of Ni [Zan, 1306–1374], Huang [Gongwang], and Cao Zhibo. The fine and ornate [*gongli*] ones, however, lean in an entirely different direction. If these too can be included in the Southern Tradition of Youcheng [Wang Wei, 701–761], what more can one ask?

Master Yanweng [Wang Shimin] searches for the Great Synthesis [*dacheng*] of painting. His opinions must be out of the ordinary! Liu Yu of Baimen [Nanjing]

草木被霜露，紅黃相抵戲。
下臨碧礪曲，上與寒山齊。
樵蘇辨歸徑，酒舍何差池。
奔巖挂斷霞，屋角撐朱旗。
朝隨晴景爛，暮并煙光麗。
溪響帶脫葉，原高奏涼颼。
杖藜時過從，詠嘯益以悲。
大地參文繡，壯士凋華姿。
信當然有道，黽勉思軒岐。

石谷子畫，余尤愛其摹倪、黃及曹知白一派，而尚工麗者分道而馳。若以此當右丞南宗，又何求焉。

煙翁先生集繪學之大成，所見必有異也。白門柳埭



LEAF I

Yun Shouping 惲壽平
(5 columns in standard script)

In the autumn of the *renzi* year [1672], Shigu [Wang Hui] and I examined together a large scroll by Mi Nangong [Mi Fu] at Mr. Yang's Water Pavilion. On it was an inscription by Song Huimiao [Emperor Huizong, r. 1101–25], which read: “Heaven bestows a timely rain, mountains and rivers appear through the clouds.” Dong Zongbo [Dong Qichang, 1555–1636] authenticated it as “the finest painting by Mi.” It was in the collection of the Minister of the Court of Imperial Entertainments Wu [Wu Zhengzhi, 1618–1691] of Jingxi [Yixing, Jiangsu]. Mr. Wu had a

Tower of Rising Clouds [Yunqi Lou] named after this painting.

Shigu has used the same idea in creating this small picture. It is as if he had himself listened to the immortals' flute music at the Yueyang Tower [Yueyang Lou], and all mundane thoughts had suddenly vanished from his mind. Thus under his brush a supernatural breath rises like dense steam. The cloud-mountains which he has painted here are completely different from those before [on Leaf G]. Yuanke Shouping recorded this so that those who “understand the music” may appreciate the painting with him. The *guichou* year, summer, the sixteenth day of the sixth [lunar] month [July 29, 1673], under lamp-light, while visiting Jingxi

壬子秋與石谷在楊氏水亭同觀米南宮大幀，宋徽廟題云“天降時雨，山川出雲”，董宗伯鑑定米畫第一，為荊溪吳光祿所藏。吳氏有雲起樓，蓋以斯圖名也。石谷用其意為小幀，如從岳陽樓親聽仙人吹笛，一時凡境頓盡，故下筆靈氣鬱蒸，與前此所圖雲山迥異。園客壽平題，與賞音者共鑒之。癸丑夏六月望後一日燈下在荊溪寓中



LEAF JJ

Ruan Yuxuan 阮玉鉉 (active mid-seventeenth century)
(5 columns in running script)

Green rides, blue peaks, a hundred strange folds.
The glow of the clear sky and the colors of the rain are matched in perfect harmony.
For the man of leisure, there is endless relish,
But it would be foolish to talk about this to a busy man of the world.

Inscribed on Wangzi Shigu's [Wang Hui's] painting after *Sailing Back along Many Rivers* [Chongjiang guizhao tu] by Guo Heyang [Guo Xi, ca. 1000–ca. 1090] to beg for the correction of the old gentleman, Yanweng [Wang Shimin]. Ruan Yuxuan

翠岫蒼嵐百疊奇，
晴光雨色愜相宜。
閒人領略無窮趣，
話與忙人也是癡。

題王子石谷倣郭河陽重江歸棹圖，請正烟翁老先生。阮玉鉉

Da Chongguang 笪重光
(5 columns in running script)

Weeping willows decorate a distant sandbank,
A fishing boat idly drifts by the river's edge.
No one is drunk and asleep at the cabin window,
He must be at the wine shop, refilling his ewer.

Inscribed for Master Yanweng [Wang Shimin] to
raise a laugh. Da Chongguang

楊柳垂垂暎遠沙，
江邊閑卻釣漁槎。
無人醉向篷牕臥，
應是提壺到酒家。
題為煙翁先生博笑。笪重光



LEAF K
Li Zongkong 李宗孔
(2 columns in standard script)

I gaze out at a range of mountains, pure and snowy
white,
Dividing the bends of the crystalline river.
The fisherman drifting toward me is in a happy
mood,
But I should know that he is not returning from
Yanxi.
Li Zongkong inscribed.

皚皚望裏一堆山，
界破瓊瑤水幾灣。
泛泛漁人高興在，
須知不是剡溪還。
李宗孔題

LEAF KK
Ye Rong 葉榮 (active second half seventeenth
century)
(9 columns in running script)

I once sailed on the Xiang River in late summer and
early autumn and saw the cloud patterns in the vast
sky take many strange and unusual shapes. They
looked very much like the snow-capped mountain
forms of Guo Heyang [Guo Xi]. Although all
ancient painters were supposed to have heaven and
earth as their teachers, Guo Xi was especially known
for his cleverness [in painting nature's strange forms].
Now, seeing this album by Shigu [Wang Hui], I feel
as if the strange clouds of the Xiang River were once
more vividly before my eyes. Who says that the
ancients cannot be equaled by modern painters? I
wrote this to query Master Yanweng [Wang Shimin].

Perhaps he will say that my words are not false.
Ye Rong of Xin'an writes this.

余昔夏秋之間汎舟湘上，見長空雲物怪怪奇
奇，大似郭河陽雪山。古人雖以天地為師，
而郭熙尤稱巧手。今見石谷茲冊，覺湘上奇
雲宛然在目，孰謂古今人不相及耶。書此質
之煙客先生，或謂斯語不謬。新安葉榮拜題



LEAF L
Yun Shouping 惲壽平
(3 columns in standard script)

Judging by this painting, Shigu [Wang Hui] has truly
grasped the unconscious achievements of the ancient
master. In a land of tumbled mountains and wilder-
ness, a single boat is adrift. How can such scenery be
found in the bosom of an ordinary man? Nantian
Caoyi [Yun Shouping]

觀石谷此本，真能到古人不用心處矣。亂山
荒遠，一棹渺然，凡俗胸中有此境界不。南
田草衣

Zhou Eryan 周而衍
(2 columns in running-standard script)

The river mist is thick and a fine drizzle whispers,
The traveler is lonely, for with whom can he converse?
In his small boat, carrying a crane, whither does he return?
It must be to the Village of Yellow Leaves in Yushan
[Wang Hui's hometown].
[Zhou Er]yan.

漠漠溪煙細雨喧，
客情孤迥與誰論。
扁舟載鶴歸何處，
只在虞山黃葉村。
衍

LEAF LL
Zha Shibiao 查士標 (1615–1698)
(8 columns in running script)

Even worms eating away at wood may happen to form
patterns,
Yet who can equal Heyang [Guo Xi], who made rocks
like clouds?
Do not say that all painters are clever,
The best of them, past and present, will bow to you.

All things successful have their special resources,
With family teaching and a master's legacy, the
accomplishments will be doubly extraordinary.

Inheriting the mantle from Dong [Yuan] and Ju [ran],
active ca. 960–85], the Orthodox succession is yours,
Your reputation will equal theirs for a thousand
autumns.
Inscribed on Shigu's [Wang Hui's] painting for
Master Yanweng's [Wang Shimin's] correction.
Zha Shibiao

如蟲蝕木偶成文，
何似河陽石是雲。
漫道畫家多狡獪，
古今能事總輸君。

從來能事必相資，
家學師承分外奇。
董巨傳衣宗派在，
千秋聲譽快同時。

題石谷畫呈烟翁先生正。查士標

COLOPHON WRITERS' SEALS
Da Chongguang 笪重光 (1623–1692)
Jiangshang waishi 江上外史 [AA]
Yanglian 養廉 [BB]
Da Chongguang 笪重光印 [BB, CC]
Yugang jushi 鬱岡居士 [CC]
Jiangshang waishi 江上外史 [E, JJ]
Chongguang 重光 [FF]
Juqu Shanzhuang 句曲山莊 [FF]

Yun Shouping 惲壽平 (1633–1690)
Yun Shouping yin 惲壽平印 [B]
Zhengshu 正叔 [D]
Shouping 壽平 [E, F]
Nantian xiaoyin 南田小隱 [F]
Shouping 壽平 [GG]
Yun Zhengshu 惲正叔 [GG]
Nantian 南田 [GG]
Yuanke 園客 [H, I]
Yun Shouping yin 惲壽平印 [I]
Shouping 壽平 [L]
Shuzi 叔子 [L]

Liu Yu 柳埏 (1620–after 1689)
Liu Yu 柳埏 [C]
Liu Yu zhi yin 柳埏之印 [HH]
Yugu 愚谷 [HH]

Chen Cheng 陳誠 (active second half seventeenth
century)
Ziai 自愛 [D]
Chen Cheng 陳誠 [D]

Li Zongkong 李宗孔 (1618–1701)
Qinlai 琴來 [HH]
Li Zongkong yin 李宗孔印 [HH]
Shu yun 書雲 [HH]
Li Zongkong 李宗孔 [K]
He shou 鶴壽 [K]

Cheng Sui 程邃 (1605–1691)
Cheng Sui 程邃 [HH]

Zhou Eryan 周而衍 (active second half seventeenth
century)
Eryan zhi yin 而衍之印 [H]
Zhou Eryan yin 周而衍印 [L]

Ruan Yuxuan 阮玉鉉 (active mid-seventeenth century)
Ruan Yuxuan siyin 阮玉鉉私印 [JJ]

Zha Shibiao 查士標 (1615–1698)
Erzhan 二瞻 [LL]
Shibiao 士標 [LL]

COLLECTORS' SEALS

Hou Quan 侯銓 (active ca. 1662–72)

Bingheng changshou 秉衡長壽 [F]

Bi Long 畢瀧 (active 1736–96)

Loudong Bi Long Jianfei shi cang 婁東畢瀧澗飛氏藏

[title page]

Bi Jianfei miji yin 畢澗飛秘笈印 [L]

Zhang Jixiong 張吉熊 (1803–1886)

Jiaxing Zhang Jixiong zhencang yin 嘉興張吉熊珍藏印

[final page]

Shen Bingcheng 沈秉成 (1823–1895)

Dieyan Lu zhencang 鯀硯廬珍藏 [title page and A–L]

Zhu Dingfu 朱定甫 (active mid-nineteenth century)

Zhu Dingfu 朱定甫 [D]

Dingfu xinsang 定父心賞 [H]

Wang Shixin 王時新 (active twentieth century)

Changzhou Wang Shixin Yuexuan suocang 長洲王時新月軒所藏 [L]

Wumen Wang Yuexuan zhencang shuhua ji 吳門王月軒珍藏書畫記 [final page]

Unidentified

Xiangcao An 香草菴 [A]

Da jinshan jiacang yin 筴近山家藏印 [E]

Pingsheng you shuhua pi 平生有書畫癖 [L]

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Mostra d'arte cinese 1954, p. 241, no. 867; Fong 1969, p. 179; Whitfield 1969, pp. 119–42, no. 16; Suzuki 1982–83, vol. 1, pp. 121–22, no. A16-058; *Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang* 1992, vol. 1, pp. 449–50, no. 165, Leaves 1–12, vol. 2, pp. 185–86, no. 165 (entry by Roderick Whitfield)

1. Translations of inscriptions and colophons in this entry modified from Whitfield 1969, pp. 119–29.
2. The Changmen Palace has symbolized the sorrow of separation since Sima Xiangru (179–117 B.C.E.) wrote his “Rhapsody on the Changmen Palace” (“Changmen fu”), describing the sadness of Empress Chen at her separation from the Han emperor Wu (r. 140–87 B.C.E.).
3. Five members of the Wang family enfeoffed by the Han emperor Chengdi (r. 33–7 B.C.E.) were constantly quarreling, but at a feast to which all were invited their host succeeded in resolving one of their disputes. After watching them fight over choice delicacies, he threw everything into a pot and cooked it together.
4. “*Kebua*” refers to painting that is still and lifeless because of an excessively strict attention to technique and detail.

15 pl. 42
Wang Hui (1632–1717) and **Wang Shimin** (1592–1680)

Landscapes after Ancient Masters

倣古山水

Fanggu shanshui

Dated 1674 and 1677

Album of twelve paintings, ink and color on paper; ten paintings by Wang Hui, each 8 7/8 x 13 1/4 in. (22 x 33.8 cm); two paintings by Wang Shimin, each 10 x 13 in. (25.4 x 32.9 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, The Dillon Fund Gift, 1989 (1989.141.4)



ALBUM COVER AND TITLE STRIP

Zhang Zeren 張澤仁 (active mid-nineteenth century)
 (4 columns in standard script)

An album of landscapes by the Mountain Man of Mount Wumu [Wumu Shanren (Wang Hui)] in the manner of ten masters of the Tang, Song, and Yuan dynasties. This fine, authentic work was acquired by the master of the Western Garden [Xi Yuan Zhuren (Li Moyuan, active mid-nineteenth century)] in the fourth year of the Tongzhi reign era, the eighth [lunar] month of the *yichou* year [September 20–October 19, 1865]. Guyu [Zhang Zeren] inscribed the label.

Also included are two leaves [of paintings] after old masters by Xilu Laoren [Wang Shimin]

烏目山人倣唐宋元十家山水畫冊。真精之品。西園主人得於同治四年乙丑八月。古虞題簽

附西廬老人仿古兩葉

TITLE STRIP WRITER'S SEAL

Guyu 古虞

ARTISTS' INSCRIPTIONS AND SIGNATURES¹

LEAF A: Wang Hui, *Buddhist Temple on a Clear Evening*, after Zhao Mengfu
 (2 columns in standard script)

Buddhist Temple on a Clear Evening, after Oubo Laoren [Zhao Mengfu, 1254–1322]

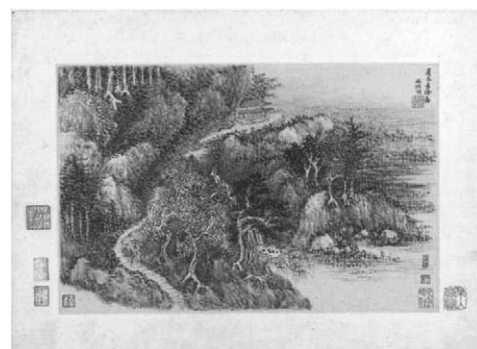
蕭寺晚晴，倣滬波老人



LEAF B: Wang Hui, *Sand Banks and Rocks*, after Huang Gongwang
 (1 column in standard script)

Sand Banks and Rocks, after Chiwen [Huang Gongwang, 1269–1354]

癡翁沙磧圖意



LEAF C: Wang Hui, *Shady Summer Woods*, after Wang Meng
 (2 columns in standard script)

Shady Summer Woods, after Shuming [Wang Meng, 1308–1385]

夏木垂陰圖，倣叔明



LEAF D: Wang Hui, *Pavilion amid Woods and Verdant Peaks*, Following the Brush Ideas of Guan Tong
 (3 columns in standard script)

Clouds girdle a thousand green peaks;

A single pavilion amid the autumn-tipped trees.

Following the brush ideas of Guan Tong [active ca. 907–23]

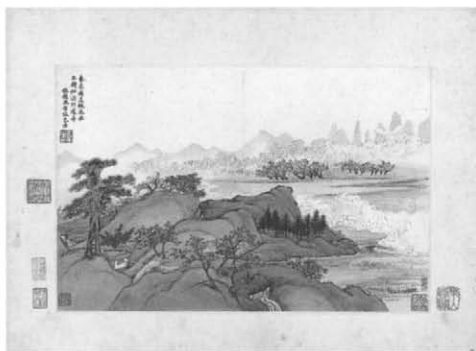
雲腰千嶺碧，
 木末一亭秋。
 倣關仝筆意



LEAF E: Wang Hui, *Deserted Mountain, Old Trees, and Village, after Juran*
(4 columns in standard script)

Mountain torrent and deserted mountain path
Through old trees to a village's bramble gate.
Using the brush manner of Juran [active
ca. 960–85] to evoke the poetic ideas of Shaoling
[Du Fu, 712–770]

澗水空山道，
柴門老樹村。
用巨然筆寫少陵詩意



LEAF G: Wang Hui, *Peach Blossom Spring, after Zhao Mengfu*
(3 columns in standard script)

When spring comes, peach blossom waters are every-
where;
If this is not an immortal's spring, what place is?
Following Recipient of Edicts Zhao's [Zhao
Mengfu's] methods of using colors.

春來遍是桃花水，
不辨仙源何處尋。
倣趙承旨設色法



LEAF J: Wang Hui, *Mountain Village after Snow, after Wang Wei*
(12 columns in standard script)

Mountain Village after Snow, after Vice Minister Wang
[Wang Wei, 701–761]

山莊雪霽，倣右丞

Yanweng Laoren [Wang Shimin] gave me a blank
album and asked for some paintings. At the time I was
traveling in Weiyang [Yangzhou] and was not able to
comply. This spring I received an urgent letter [from
him] so I quickly did these small scenes after various
masters. Your disciple's embarrassing brush and ink is
not worthy of entering your collection. Done by a
rainy window on the fifth day of the second [lunar]
month of the *jiayin* year [March 5, 1674]. Your pupil,
Wang Hui of Yushan

煙翁老先生以素冊命畫，聳時游維揚未能即
應。今年春飛書見，速率倣諸家小景呈正。
第愧筆墨醜惡，不堪溷入清閨耳。甲寅二月
五日兩窗識。虞山後學王翬



LEAF F: Wang Hui, *Cloudy Mountains, after Gao Kegong*
(4 columns in standard script)

When mountains put forth clouds, clouds put forth
mountains,
Transformed into continuous rain, they encompass all
mankind;
From this one knows that the gods' assembled banners
and pennants
Are not in golden halls or rooms of jade.
After Minister Gao [Kegong, 1248–1310]

山出雲時雲出山，
化為霖雨遍人寰。
端知帝所旌幢會，
不在金堂玉室間。
倣高尚書



LEAF H: Wang Hui, *Level Vista with Trees and Water Buffalo, after Zhao Lingrang*
(2 columns in standard script)

Level Vista with Trees and Water Buffalo, after Zhao Danian
[Zhao Lingrang, active ca. 1070–after 1100]

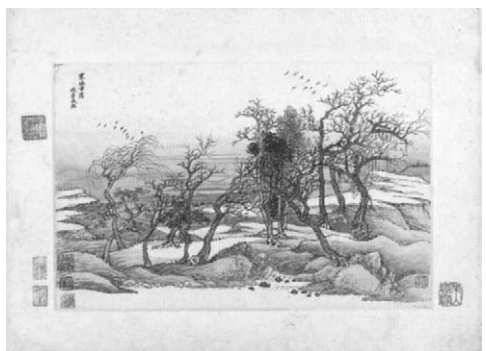
平林散牧圖，倣趙大年



LEAF I: Wang Hui, *Wintry Grove on Ancient Banks, after Li Cheng*
(2 columns in standard script)

Wintry Grove on Ancient Banks, after Li Xianxi [Li
Cheng, 919–967]

寒林古岸，倣李咸熙



LEAF K: Wang Shimin, *Landscape after Li Cheng's "Wintry Grove"*
(1 column in standard script):

After Li Xianxi's [Li Cheng's] "Wintry Grove"

倣李咸熙寒林

LEAF L: Wang Shimin, *Shady Summer Woods, after Zhao Mengfu*
(10 columns in standard script)

After Recipient of Edicts Zhao's [Zhao Mengfu's] "Shady
Summer Woods"

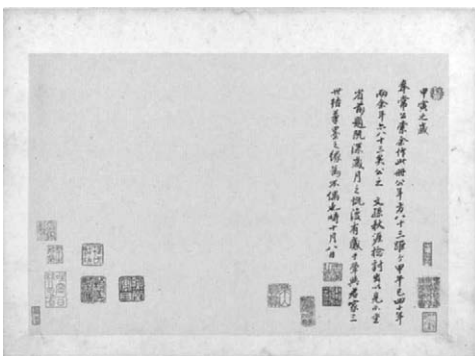
倣趙承旨夏木垂陰

This album in the manner of various famous masters'
brush styles was begun in the midautumn of 1674.
I stopped, then completed the last four leaves three
years later. Altogether there are twelve paintings. Now



it is the sixth day of the fourth [lunar] month of the *dingsi* year [May 7, 1677]. Written by Wang Shimin

此冊做諸名家筆，經始於甲寅秋仲，作輟者再四凡三易歲而後成，共計十二幅。蓋丁巳清和之六日也。王時敏識



LEAF M: Wang Hui's colophon, dated 1714
(5 columns in standard script)

In 1674, when master Fengchang [Wang Shimin] asked me to do this album, he was just eighty-three *sui* [eighty-two years old]. That was forty years ago; now I am eighty-three [sui]. The master's grandson Qiuya has taken this out to show me. Examining again my earlier inscriptions done so many years ago I am overwhelmed with sadness and feel that the bonds of brush and ink that connect me with three generations of the Wang family cannot have been an accident. The eighth day of the tenth [lunar] month [November 14, 1714].

甲寅之歲奉常公索余作此冊，公年方八十三，距今甲午已四十年，而余年亦八十三矣。公之文孫秋涯檢討出以見示，重省前題，既深歲月之慨，復有感于輦與君家三世結筆墨之緣為不偶也。時十月八日。

LEAF N: Lu Shihua 陸時化 (1714–1779)
(2 columns in standard script)

Wang Shigu's [Wang Hui's] interpretations of the ancients

Vice Minister Wang's [Wang Shimin's] interpretations of the ancients

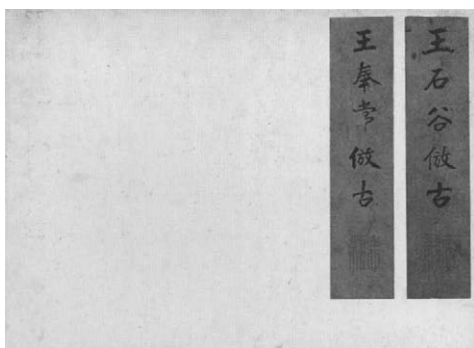
王石谷做古
王奉常做古

ARTISTS' SEALS

Wang Hui 王翬 (1632–1717)

Shiguzi 石谷子 [A, C, D, F, G, I, J] (twice)

Wang Hui zhi yin 王翬之印 [B, C, D, E, F, G, J] (twice)



Leaf N

Wang Hui zhi yin 王翬之印 [M]

Wang Shigu 王石谷 [D, H]

Shangxia qiannian 上下千年 [M] (Moving back and forth through a thousand years)

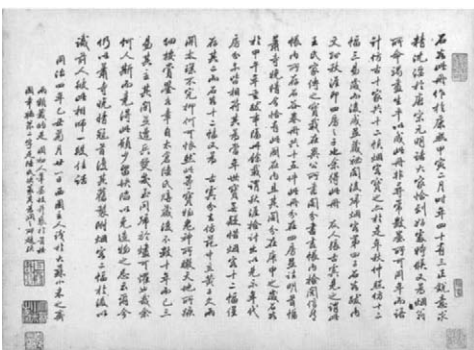
Gengyan Sanren shi nian bashi you san 耕煙散人時年八十有三 [M] (The Mist-Plowing Idler at the age of eighty-three [sui])

Wang Shimin 王時敏 (1592–1680)

Yanke 煙客 [K]

Wang Shimin yin 王時敏印 [L]

COLOPHONS



LEAF O

Li Moyuan 李墨緣 (active mid-nineteenth century), dated 1865

(21 columns in running script)

Shigu [Wang Hui] did this album in the second [lunar] month of the *jiayin* year of the Kangxi reign period [1674]; at the time he was exactly forty-three [sui, forty-two years old]. With a keen spirit he pursued the essential character and boundless spirit of all the great masters of the Tang, Song, Yuan, and Ming until he got it just right. Since he did this album at the request of Yanweng [Wang Shimin], he put all his energies into it; it is not something one can talk about in the same year as common works. There are altogether twelve paintings with interpretations of ten masters [in this album]. Yanke [Wang Shimin] treasured them to the extent that in the midautumn of the same year he began [his own] twelve interpretations, which he completed three years later and kept in his collection. After his estate was divided, these albums were passed on to Wang Shimin's fourth son. [Wang Shimin's] grandson, Qiuya, who is mentioned in Wang Hui's colophon, is the son of this fourth son.

After I acquired this album, my friend Zhang Guyu [Zeren] saw it and remarked that it was a treasure that had been handed down within the Wang family. In another gentleman's record of the division of calligraphies and paintings [from Wang Shimin's estate], a record one can trust, it states that of the

fifteen scrolls and albums by Wang Hui in the list, this album was given to the fourth son; it further states that the title of the first leaf was *Buddhist Temple on a Clear Evening*. Happily, my album contains [a] painting [with the same title]. Furthermore, the division [of the estate] was in 1680 and Wang Hui inscribed this album again in 1714, some thirty years later, when Qiuya brought it out for him to see. This matches perfectly the [elapsed] time since the estate's division, so there can be no doubt that this is the same album treasured by several generations.

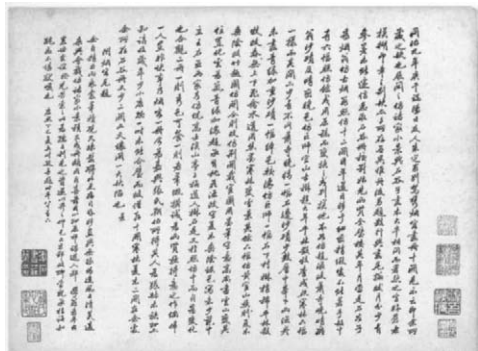
Unfortunately, only two leaves remain from Wang Shimin's twelve paintings, while two of Wang Hui's twelve paintings—those in the manner of Fan Kuan and Huang Gongwang—were taken by Zhang Zeren, so that, alas, the original creation is no longer complete. But this kind of treasure is watched over by ghosts and spirits and jealously guarded by heaven and earth. If you survey all the collectors' seals from the time it was acquired by the Lu [Shihua] family of Taicang, [it is evident that] in no more than a few decades it has already changed owners three times [from Lu Shihua to Cheng Zhenyi to Zhang Zhiwan and, finally, to Li Moyuan]. During that time there was also civil unrest, and it might easily have been destroyed. It makes one frightened to think of it. Indeed, who am I to possess this? In seeking to return the album to its original perfection, so as to avoid arousing the jealousy of the gods, I have returned *Buddhist Temple on a Clear Evening* to its old position at the beginning [of the album] and placed the two leaves by Wang Shimin at the end in order to show how our forebearers learned from one another.

On the twenty-first day of the chrysanthemum [eighth lunar] month of the *yiqu* cyclical year, the fourth year in the Tongzhi reign period [November 9, 1865] the Master of the Western Garden [Xi Yuan Zhuren] wrote this at the Studio of Great Su [Shi, 1037–1101] and Little Mi [Youren, 1074–1151].

The two title strips are an early Qing man's brush and ink, so I have mounted them on the first page; the two-character seal [on each title strip] *Listening to Pines* [Tingsong] was cut by Mr. Lu Runzhi [Shihua], who was the inscriber.

石谷此冊作於康熙甲寅二月，時年四十有三，正銳意求精，沈淫於唐宋元明諸大家恰到好處時候。又為烟翁所命，竭盡生平以成此冊，非尋常數墨所可同年而語。計仿古十家，共十二幀，烟客寶之，亦於是年秋仲照仿十二幅，三易歲而後成，並藏秘閣。後歸烟客第四子。石谷跋內文孫秋涯即四房之子也。余得此冊，友人張古虞見之，謂此王氏家傳之寶，載在異公所書圖分書畫帳內，檢閱信然。帳內所存石谷卷冊共十五件，此冊分在四房，並註明首幅蕭寺晚晴，今恰有此圖在內，且其圖分在庚申之歲。石谷於甲午年重跋，事隔卅餘載，謂秋涯檢討出以見示，年代房分亦皆相符，其為當年世寶無疑。惜烟客十二幅僅存其二，而石谷十二幅又為古虞分去，仿范中立、黃子久兩開太璞不完，抑何可恨。然此等寶物，鬼神所瞰，天地所嫉。細按賞鑒各章，自太倉陸氏購藏後，不數十年而已三易其主，其間並遭兵燹，幾至同歸於燼，可懼也哉。余何人斯而竟得此，願少留缺陷以免造物之忌云爾。今仍以蕭寺晚晴冠首，復其舊製，附烟客二幅於後，以識前人彼此相師一段佳話。同治四年乙丑菊月廿一日西園主人識於大蘇小米之齋

兩額籤的是國初人筆墨，故并裝於首。按圖章聽松二字，是陸氏次篆，其為潤之所題歟。



LEAF P
Li Moyuan 李墨緣, dated 1870
(22 columns in running script)

On the day of the Duanyang [spring] festival in the gengwu cyclical year, the ninth year of the Tongzhi reign period [June 3, 1870], my friend Zhu Dingfu brought by an album of ten leaves by Wang Shimin for me to see, saying that it was the remaining [leaves from the album to which] mine belonged. Upon examining the small scenes interpreting various masters, [I realized that] they were nearly identical with those by Wang Hui; moreover, the hoary and old [style of the] inscriptions and the indistinct seals were no different from [those on my two leaves by Wang Shimin]. But at the back of this album [Wang Shimin had] inscribed several lines in a different month from those on the final painting [in my set], so I could not be absolutely certain [they were from the same album]. So I took my Wang Hui album and compared it with this one; then I could see that these two sages' works were in complete agreement.

Judging by the year and month [of their execution], it was Wang Hui who first made interpretations of the ancients for Wang Shimin and then Wang Shimin who made twelve interpretations after [Wang Hui]. Because of [Wang Shimin's] advanced years and dim eyesight, he could not follow the finer passages. Therefore, there are only six leaves that he copied closely, while for the rest he used the original composition but modified it or even followed some other model.

Among his interpretations, six leaves—*Buddhist Temple on a Clear Evening*, after Zhao Mengfu [Leaf A], *Sand Banks and Rocks* [Leaf B] and *Evening Colors on Pure Peaks* [not in present album], both after Huang Gongwang, *Deserted Mountain and Old Trees*, after Juran [Leaf E], *Level Vista with Trees and Water Buffalo*, after Zhao Lingrang [Leaf H], and *Wintry Grove*, after Li Cheng [Leaf I]—are the same. But even among these there are small differences. In *Buddhist Temple on a Clear Evening* the rocks and banks on the right side [of Wang Shimin's version] lack several layers, he did not paint two fishing boats below the central peak, and the blue-and-green coloring is heavier. In *Sand Banks and Rocks* the deep red color is applied more thickly. In the painting after Juran the trees and village in the lower right are less detailed. *Level Vista with Trees and Water Buffalo* has been changed to a spring scene, with the flying birds omitted and the water done in thick ink, while *Wintry Grove* has been changed into a snowscape.

Among the remaining six paintings, *Shady Summer Woods*, after Wang Meng has been changed to a picture of bamboo, the painting in the manner of Guan Tong [active ca. 907–23] has been changed to a picture of cranes after Jing Hao [active ca. 870–ca. 930] and Guan Tong in the freely sketched [xieyi] style of brush and ink, and in *Cloudy Mountains*, after Gao Kegong the clouds have become more vaporous and the blue-and-green color thicker. *Peach Blossom Spring*, after Zhao Mengfu has been changed to *Shady Summer Woods*, after Zhao Mengfu, with colors applied in the freely sketched manner. [Wang Hui's] paintings after Fan Kuan and Wang Wei have been replaced by *Pavilion amid Streams and Mountains*, after Ni Zan and *Tree and Rock*, after Wu Zhen. This is all part of making creative transformations in the process of imitation.

When the two albums are viewed together, one is so elegant you can taste it, one possesses the free-ranging quality of an old man's brush; truly they show the fully realized genius of these two masters. Would it not be wonderful if both could be returned to one man! The Wang Shimin album is now in the collection of Zhang Xianbo [active mid-nineteenth century] of Jiaying. This man is a descendant of Zhang Shuwei [Tingji, 1768–1848] and also knows about collecting. He is young, but he is well-off; I am afraid at present the two albums cannot be reunited. But he has only ten leaves; *Wintry Grove* and *Summer Woods* are mine. But my Wang Hui album also is missing two leaves, which is a big imperfection in the world.

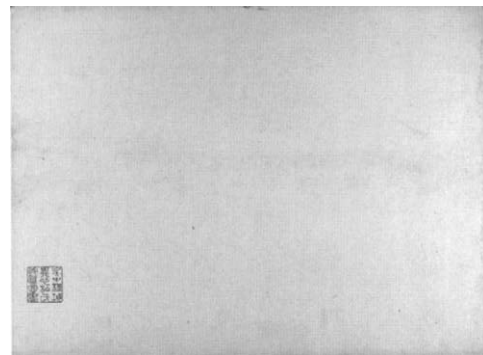
Appended here is [a transcription] of Yanke's [Wang Shimin's] inscription at the end [of his original album]:

Since my energy declined, I have put away my brushes and ink stones and have for a long time neglected to paint grand landscapes. On top of it, my weakening eyesight makes it even more difficult to paint. Occasionally, when the weather has been lovely, I have been inspired by the moment to paint small scenes after old masters to amuse myself. After a period of time they have accumulated into an album, in which I take great delight. When my grandson, [Wang] Yuanqi [1642–1715], was recommended for service in the capital, [his father,] my son [Wang] Kui [jinshi, 1655], eagerly asked for it for Mr. Xueweng, whose family and mine have been friends for generations, thinking that the young man would benefit from viewing it. I therefore gave the album to him for his generous correction, as if receiving his instructions personally. I knew that [my work] was too bad even for a laugh. During the Kangxi reign era, in the summer, the fifth [lunar] month, of the dingsi year [May 31–June 29, 1677], Shimin again inscribed at the age of eighty-six.

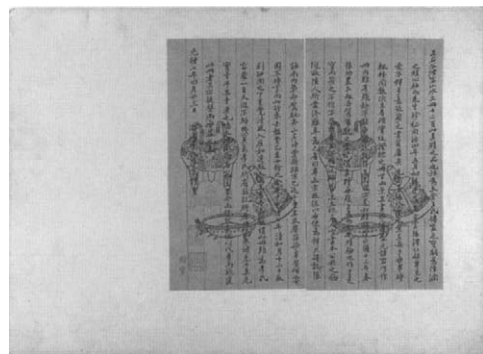
同治九年庚午端陽日友人朱定甫別駕攜烟客畫冊十開見示，云即余所藏之缺也。展閱之，仿諸家小景與石谷子畫本大半相同，而署款之字跡蒼老模糊，印章之剝缺亦與所存無異。惟冊後另題數行，與畫尾捻跋月分少有參差，未能遽信，急取石谷子畫冊校對，始見兩賢全璧。按其年月，當是石谷子為烟翁仿古，烟翁照仿十二開，因年邁目眊，于細密精緻處不能著手，故中有六幅照仿，餘或用原稿而變換之，或別模他本，如仿趙孟頫蕭寺晚晴、癡翁沙磧及晴巒晚色、仿巨師空山古樹、趙大年平林散牧、李咸熙寒林六幅一樣，而其間亦少有不同。蕭寺晚晴一幅，右邊沙磧少數層，中峯下兩漁舟未畫，青綠加重。沙磧一幅綠色較濃。仿巨師一幅右下村

樹稍稀。平林散木改春[景]，無上下飛禽，水道用焦墨。寒林變雪景。其餘六幅，仿黃鶴山樵則夏木垂陰改竹趣圖；仿關仝則改仿荆關戴鶴圖，用墨筆寫意；高尚書雲山，變其位置，化雲為氣，青綠加濃；趙承旨桃花源，改寫夏木垂陰，設色寫意少；范中立、王右丞兩家，另仿倪高士溪山亭子、梅道人樹石，是又於照仿中而自為變化也。合觀二冊，一則秀色可餐，一則老筆縱橫，誠為兩賢極得意之作。倘歸一人，豈非快事。乃烟客一冊，今為嘉興張氏翔伯所得，其人為張叔未族孫，亦知講收藏，年少小康，恐一時未能合璧，而彼僅存十開，寒林夏木二開在余處，余所存石谷冊又少二開，亦天壤間一大缺陷也。景附烟客尾題

余自精力向衰，叢筆橫硯，久疏盤礴，此更病目昏眊，益與無緣。偶逢風日清美，適乘興會，戲仿諸家小景，積久成冊，頗用自喜。茲因小孫原祁謁選入都，學翁老年台累世至誼，揆兒苦索之，以為孺子利見之資，遂以畀之，仰乞大方郢政，聊當親承指誨，知醜惡不堪獻咲也。康熙丁巳夏五時敏再題，時年八十有六



LEAF Q
COLLECTOR'S SEAL
Cheng Zhenyi 程楨義 (active early to mid-nineteenth century)
Wuzhong Cheng Zhenyi Xinbo shi miqie tushu 吳中程楨義心柏氏秘篋圖書



LEAF R
Li Qingduo 李慶多 (active late nineteenth century), dated 1881
(15 columns in standard script on green ruled paper)

This large album of twelve leaves by Wang Hui and Wang Shimin is an authentic and outstanding work.

In the beginning it was a treasure transmitted within the Wang family of Taicang. Next it was in the collections of Lu Shihua and Cheng Zhenyi.

At the beginning of the fifth [lunar] month in the fourth year of the Tongzhi reign period [May 1865] [our family] acquired this in Jiangsu Province. Guyu, Zhang Zeren, the county magistrate, saw it and liked it so much he wanted it for his own collection. He even wrote several letters asking for it.

My father, Moyuan, placed it on the left side of his table, and every time he was not busy he would go over it several times. He is responsible for all the investigations recorded on the first two leaves.

This album of fine interpretations after various masters of the Tang, Song, and Yuan is incomplete, but one cannot feel badly, for it still contains the majority of the leaves and that is enough to feel satisfied about. In the spring of the twelfth year [of the Tongzhi reign period (1873)] my maternal great-uncle Zhang Younong took the album to sell. Everyone who saw it said that [the album] was without a doubt authentic and furthermore that it was one of the best works by these two gentlemen. After this, [Zhang] treasured the album and kept it in his collection. Not only would he not sell it, but he would not return it to its owner. I suppose that paintings by famous men are public property and even if you take it forcibly from somebody it is difficult to keep it for yourself. Therefore, whenever I wrote a letter asking for it back, he always said it was inconvenient. And so I had to ask my brother-in-law, Zhang Yongnan, to travel south of the mountains to Haifeng County [in Guangdong Province], over a thousand *li* from the capital [Beijing]. That he was covered with dust and suffered every kind of hardship goes without saying. Furthermore his round-trip cost over twenty pieces of gold. Finally, on the twelfth day of the fourth lunar month of the seventh year of the Guangxu reign period [May 9, 1881] it was returned.

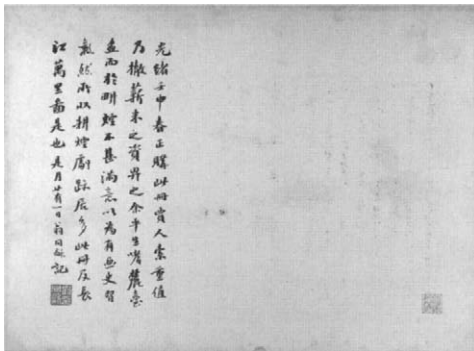
When you carefully examine the album, it is like a fresh breeze coming into the sitting room or like meeting an old friend; moreover, owning it is a great piece of luck. This album was in the Li family collection, but since it nearly did not return from a long leave, it nearly was lost by the Li family.

The original album has come back, but it certainly was a close call and a great piece of good fortune. Now I realize that in this world everything has its rightful owner. He who wanted to sell it on consignment hid it; what a wasted effort to no avail.

On the twenty-third day of the fourth [lunar] month of the seventh year of the Guangxu reign period [May 20, 1881], written by Li Jisong [Qingduo] of Luhe [in Hebei or Shanxi].

王石谷煙客山水大冊十二頁，此真精之品也。始為太倉王氏傳家之寶，嗣為陸潤之、程心柏兩先生珍秘。同治四年五月初得于蘇省，古虞張澤仁縣尊見之，愛不釋手，意欲藏之畫篋屢矣。先君墨緣公置之案左，每于無事時輒校閱數次，且有確實攷證，標之冊首兩葉。其畫係仿唐宋元諸家所作，冊內雖有殘缺不能無憾，然既得其太凡，亦足如願相償云爾。十二年春張幼農太叔岳攜售，觀之者皆謂真蹟無疑，且為兩先生精極之作，于是寶而藏之，不惟不忍出售，並不願送歸舊主。大抵名人字畫本公共之物，縱欲強人所愛，終難奉為己有。因專函索取，總以無便為辭，只得託張詠南內弟命駕馳奔山海豐縣，距

京已近千里，其風塵荏染，辛苦備嘗，固不待言，而此行來去盤費已至廿餘之金，遂於光緒七年清和月十二日取到。細閱之下，直覺清風入座，如逢故人，且大有幸焉。竊謂此冊雖為李氏家藏，一自久假不歸，幾莫為李氏所有。茲既將原冊攜來，誠危呼其危，實幸乎其幸者也。噫天地間物有定主，至今而恍然矣。彼以代售而欲匿此冊者，其亦徒勞而無益也夫。光緒七年四月廿三日潞河李氏季嵩謹書



LEAF RR

Weng Tonghe 翁同龢 (1830–1904), datable to 1882 (5 columns in standard script)

I bought this album in the first [lunar] month of the spring of the *renshen* year [sic] in the Guangxu era. The dealer asked for a high price, and I purchased it with the money for my living costs. I have loved Luta's [Wang Yuanqi's] painting all my life, but do not find Gengyan's [Wang Hui's] work very satisfactory, considering it inflicted with painterly mannerisms. In my collection, however, there are more great pieces by Gengyan, such as this album and the scroll *Ten Thousand Miles of the Yangzi River*. Weng Tonghe recorded on the twenty-first day of this month.

光緒壬申春正購此冊，賈人索重值，乃撤薪米之資畀之。余平生嗜麓臺畫，而於畊煙不甚滿意，以為有畫史習氣，然所收耕煙劇跡居多，此冊及長江萬里圖是也。是月廿有一日翁同龢記

COLLECTORS' SEALS

Lu Shihua 陸時化 (1714–1779)

Lu Runzhi 陸潤之藏 [H]

Runzhi zhen shang 潤之真賞 [L]

Runzhi suocang 潤之所藏 [M]

Huaiyan Ge Lu shi zhencang shubua yin 懷煙閣陸氏珍藏書畫印 [P]

Tingsong 聽松 [N] (twice)

Lu Yuqing 陸愚卿 (active late eighteenth century)

Loudong Lu Yuqing Yuanwu shi miqie tusbu 婁東陸愚卿願吾氏秘篋圖書 [M]

Yuanwu miwan 願吾秘玩 [P]

Zhang Zhiwan 張之萬 (active early to mid-nineteenth century)

Zhiwan shending 之萬審定 [A, E, M]

Ziqing 子青 [C, H]

Zhiwan 之萬 [I, J]

Zhiwan 之萬 (double seal) [K, L]

Cheng Zhenyi 程棣義 (active early to mid-nineteenth century)

Xinbo zhenmi 心柏珍秘 [A, C, E, F, J, K]

Zhenyi zhen shang 楨義珍賞 [B, D, G, H, I, L]

Cheng shi baowan 程氏寶玩 [M]

Zhenyi jianchang 楨義鑑藏 [M]

Shushi Shuzhuang cang yin 漱石書莊藏印 [P]

Cheng shi Xinbo shending 程氏心柏審定 [P]

Zhang Zeren 張澤仁 (active mid-nineteenth century)

Guyu 古虞 [album cover title strip]

Li Moyuan 李墨緣 (active mid-nineteenth century)

Xi Yuan wushang zhi pin 西園無上之品 [A]

Yunbu wushang zhi pin 韻湖無上之品 [A–H, J, L]

Yunbu suode 韻湖所得 [I]

Lube Li shi Yunbu suocang 潞河李氏韻湖所藏 [K, M]

Da Su xiao Mi zhi Zhai 大蘇小米之齋 [O]

Wafu leiming 瓦釜雷鳴 [O]

Li Qingduo 李慶多 (active late nineteenth century)

Li shi Jisong shubua zhi yin 李氏季嵩書畫之印

[A–M, P, R]

Xi Yuan houren 西園後人 [M, O]

Li Qingduo yin 李慶多印 [O, P, R]

Sun Yuwen 孫毓汶 (active mid-nineteenth century)

Laishan zhenshang 萊山真賞 [A–M]

Weng Tonghe 翁同龢 (1830–1904)

Changshu Weng Tonghe mosuo shending 常熟翁同龢摩挲審定 [A–L]

Shuping suocang 叔平所藏 [K, L]

Weng Tonghe yin 翁同龢印 [RR]

Li Darong 李大融 (jinsbi, 1835)

Xu Tang yumu 煦堂寓目 [M]

Weng Wange 翁萬戈 (Wan-go Weng, b. 1918)

Weng Wange jianshang 翁萬戈鑑賞 [A–L]

Weng Wange cang 翁萬戈藏 [M, O, P]

Unidentified

Lu Poye yulao 陸朴堃娛老 [E]

Qingchuang yiri jibui kan 晴窗一日幾回看 [M]

Tong Chen Weihai miu fu si wen 同陳微翰謬附斯文 [O]

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Suzuki 1982–83, vol. 1, pp. 62–63, no. A13-002; *Yiyuan duoying* 34 (January 1987), ill. pp. 33–34, inside back cover, and back cover; Maxwell K. Hearn in “Recent Acquisitions” 1989, p. 83 (Leaves G and L ill.); Hearn in Barnhart, Fong, and Hearn 1996, p. 226, no. 32; Hearn 1996, p. 162, ill. pp. 156–61, pls. 32a–h; Chen Lüsheng 1996, pp. 21, 26, 268

1. Translations in this entry by Maxwell K. Hearn.

2. This character, *jing*, was omitted from the colophon by mistake and added here by the writer; a mark in the body of the text indicates where it should have been inserted.

16

pls. 1, 12

Wang Hui (1632–1717)

Landscape in the Style of Wu Zhen

倣吳鎮山水

Fang Wu Zhen shanshui

Dated 1675

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 26 ½ x 15 ½ in. (67.2 x 39.3 cm)

Princeton University Art Museum, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse (y1979-2)



ARTIST'S INSCRIPTION AND SIGNATURE
(2 columns in standard script)

The *yimao* year [1675], late spring, imitating the Master of the Plum Blossom Retreat's [Meihua An Zhu (Wu Zhen's)] *Summer Mountains*; I ask the criticism of Master Luansheng, The Wood-Gatherer of Mount Wumu [Wumu Shan Zhong Qiaozhe], Wang Hui¹

乙卯暮春傲梅花庵主夏山圖，請正鸞昇先生。烏目山中樵者王翬

ARTIST'S SEALS

Ziyyue 自怡悅 (For my own enjoyment)

Shiguzi 石谷子

Wang Hui zhi yin 王翬之印

Laiqing Ge 來青閣 (Nearing Greenery Studio)

INSCRIPTION

Wang Jian 王鑑 (1598–1677)

(5 columns in running script)

Dong Wenmin [Dong Qichang, 1555–1636] often said to me: "Painters who possess the qualities of beauty and elegance [*wenxiu zhi qi*] may yet lack roundness and fullness [*hunhou*]; and those who have power and strength [*qinjin zhi li*] may yet be partly lacking in style and resonance [*fengyun*]." As for Shigu [Wang Hui], all of the desirable qualities seem to be present. It may be said that not a single hair in his painting is to be regretted. This painting is deep and calm and quietly aloof. The primal breath [*yuangqi*] seems to flow magically through it. It is one of the great masterpieces, and should be carefully treasured. Wang Jian of Loushui [Taicang] inscribed.²

董文敏常與予論丹青家具文秀之質，而渾厚未足，得道勁之力，而風韻不全，至如石谷眾美畢具，可謂毫髮無遺恨矣。此圖深沉澹遠，元氣靈通，尤稱傑作，良可寶也。婁水王鑑題

INSCRIPTION WRITER'S SEALS

Laiyun Guan 來雲館

Wang Jian zhi yin 王鑑之印

Xiangbi 湘碧

COLLECTOR'S SEAL

Earl Morse (1908–1988)

Musi shoucang mingji 穆思收藏名跡 (on mounting, not illustrated)

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Fong 1969, p. 179; Whitfield 1969, pp. 143–45, no. 17

1. Translation from Whitfield 1969, p. 143.

2. Ibid.

17

pls. 40, 41

Wang Hui (1632–1717)

Landscape after Guan Tong's "Streams and Mountains Clearing after Mist"

傲關全溪山晴靄

Fang Guan Tong Xishan qing'ai

Dated 1678

Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 11 1/2 in. x 11 ft.

7 in. (29.3 x 353 cm)

Shanghai Museum

ARTIST'S INSCRIPTION AND SIGNATURE

(2 columns in standard script)

In the first decade of the fourth [lunar] month of the *wumu* year [May 20–29, 1678], I painted this after



Guan Tong's [active ca. 907–23] *Streams and Mountains Clearing after Mist*, the Man of Mount Wumu [Wumu Shanzhongren], Wang Hui.

歲次戊午清和月上澣微關全溪山晴靄圖，鳥目山中人王翬

ARTIST'S SEALS

Wang Hui zhi yin 王翬之印

Shiguzi 石谷子

FRONTISPIECE

Wu Hufan 吳湖帆 (1894–1968)

(6 columns in seal script)

Wang Shigu's [Wang Hui's] *Landscape after Guan Tong's "Streams and Mountains Clearing after Mist"*

王石谷摹關全溪山晴靄圖卷

FRONTISPIECE NOTE

Wu Hufan 吳湖帆 (1894–1968), dated 1938

(3 columns in standard script)

This painting by Wang Shigu [Wang Hui] in the collection of the Wu family's Plum Vista Studio [Meijing Shuwu] belongs to the divine class, unsurpassed by any. It is one of the twin scrolls modeled after Guan Tong and Juran [active ca. 960–85] of the Five Dynasties, one featuring a sunny landscape and the other a rainy one. Now it has gone to the precious collection of my senior, [Sun] Bangrui [1902–1950]. In the autumn of the *wuyin* year [1938], Wu Hufan inscribed.

吳氏梅景書屋寶藏王石谷畫，無上神品，仿五代關全、巨然晴雨雙卷之一。今歸邦瑞我兄秘笈。戊寅秋日吳湖帆題

COLOPHONS

Wu Hufan 吳湖帆 (1894–1968), dated 1938

(12 columns in standard script)

I have seen about forty-odd paintings by Shigu [Wang Hui] in the last twenty years. Among them seventeen or eighteen are very refined and detailed, and this handscroll modeled after Guan Tong's *Streams and Mountains Clearing after Mist* is the best. It is known that, after being instructed by Yanke [Wang Shimin, 1592–1680] to copy the masterpieces of the Song and Yuan dynasties around the age of forty, Shigu achieved the Great Synthesis in his art. Therefore, the finest of Shigu's paintings were done between the ages of forty and fifty, and his works modeled after ancient masters are particularly good. He excelled in painting in the Song manner, but was less interested in imitating the Yuan masters. His skill is superior to his expression of spiritual resonance; his works in color are better than those in ink monochrome.

This scroll was executed in the brush manner of Guan Tong at forty-seven *sui*. Not only is it the greatest work of Shigu's whole life, but it also could not have been done by anyone else of the Ming and Qing periods or later. Judging from what I have seen, among the Song masters, Shigu's imitations of the styles of Guan Tong and Fan Kuan [ca. 960–ca. 1030] are his best and the most marvelous. Occasionally I had seen a couple of them in albums, but had not seen any long handscrolls or huge hanging scrolls. Then I saw this work twenty years ago. For years I could not forget it. Now I have it again. It is indeed like the line in the *ci* poem by Yan Yuanxian [Yan Shu, 991–1055], "As if they once knew me, swallows return." In midautumn of the *wuyin* year [1938], I asked for the opinion of Sun Bangrui, my senior,

whether he agrees with me. Wu Hufan inscribed in the Plum Vista Studio.

余二十年來所見石谷畫卷約四十餘本，而精細之作有十七八本，惟以此卷仿關全溪山晴靄圖為第一。按石谷在四十歲左右經煙客指示臨摹宋元名跡後，藝乃大成。故石谷畫以四十至五十歲為最精，而摹古為尤工。且石谷長於畫宋，而不尚摹元。蓋石谷之功力勝於神韻，設色勝於水墨。此卷為四十七歲摹關全筆法，不獨為石谷生平第一合作，而明清以來無第二人能為之。就余所見石谷仿宋人筆，以關全、范寬為最擅長亦最妙，見僅於冊中偶然寓目一二，若長卷巨軸固未之或見也。此本在二十年前曾見之，心目不忘者累歲，今復獲之，洵晏元獻詞曰似曾相識燕歸來是也。戊寅中秋質之孫邦瑞兄以為然否。吳湖帆識于梅景書屋

Wu Zheng 吳徵 (1878–1949), dated 1939

(1 column in running script)

In the eighth month, autumn, of the *jimao* year [1939], Baojuan Jushi, Wu Zheng, viewed [this scroll] in a village cottage at Siming, to the west of Shanghai.

己卯秋八月袁錫居士吳徵觀於滬西四明村舍

Zhao Shuru 趙叔孺 (1874–1945), dated 1940

(1 column in running script)

In the winter of the *gengchen* year [1940], Zhao Shigang [Zhao Shuru] of Yin [Xian, in Zhejiang Province] respectfully viewed [this scroll].

庚辰冬月鄭趙世桐拜觀

COLOPHON WRITERS' SEALS

Wu Hufan 吳湖帆 (1894–1968)

Wu Hufan yin 吳湖帆印

Wu Hufan 吳湖帆

Wu Zheng 吳徵 (1878–1949)

Daigui 待秋

Zhao Shuru 趙叔孺 (1874–1945)

Zhao Shuru changnian daji you rili 趙叔孺長年大吉又日利

COLLECTORS' SEALS

Prince Yi 怡親王 (Yunxiang, 1686–1730)

Yiqinwang bao 怡親王寶

Mingshan Tang zhencang shuhua yin ji 明善堂珍藏書畫印記

Pan Jingshu 潘靜淑 (1892–1939)

Jingshu baocang 靜淑寶藏

Shuangxiu Ge tushu ji 雙修閣圖書記

Wu Hufan 吳湖帆 (1894–1968)

Wu Hufan zhencang yin 吳湖帆珍藏印

Meijing Shuwu 梅景書屋

Mingxin juepin 銘心絕品

Wu Hufan Pan Jingshu zhencang yin 吳湖帆潘靜淑珍藏印

Sun Bangrui 孫邦瑞 (1902–1950)

Sun Bangrui zhencang yin 孫邦瑞珍藏印

Unidentified

Cheng'an zhenwan 誠菴珍玩

Mianxue Tang shibao 勉學堂世寶

PUBLISHED REFERENCE

Zhongguo huihua quanji 1997–, vol. 24 (2000), pp. 36–37, pls. 39, 40

18

pl. 43A,B

Wang Hui (1632–1717)

Gathered Peaks in Spring Dew

群峰春靄

Qunfeng chun'ai

Dated 1680

Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 10 ¼ in. x 14 ft.

8 ¾ in. (26 x 449.2 cm)

Shanghai Museum

ARTIST'S INSCRIPTION AND SIGNATURE

(4 columns in standard script)

Gathered Peaks in Spring Dew by Zhao Wenmin [Zhao Mengfu, 1254–1322]

In the third [lunar] month of the *gengshen* year [1680], I saw the original work in a government office in Pingjiang [in Hunan Province] and modeled this painting on it.

趙文敏群峰春靄圖

庚申三月王翬在平江署中得觀真本，因用其法。

ARTIST'S SEALS

Wang Hui zhi yin 王翬之印

Shiguzi 石谷子

LABEL STRIP

Yanshan Zhuren 燕山主人 (unidentified)

(1 column in standard script)

Wang Shigu's [Wang Hui's] *Gathered Peaks in Spring Dew*, Yanshan Zhuren [Master of Mount Yan] inscribed the label.

王石谷群峰春靄圖，燕山主人題簽

LABEL STRIP WRITER'S SEAL

Illegible (one)

INSCRIPTION

Yun Shouping 惲壽平 (1633–1690), dated 1680

(6 columns in running-standard script)

Blue-and-green landscape painting underwent a transformation in the hands of Zhao Wuxing [Zhao Mengfu]. Eschewing the meticulous descriptive brushwork of Song painters, he endowed [his painting] with a firm, profound quality and sensuous, elegant appearance. It is neither too heavy nor too light, with a spiritual air that penetrates the eye. It embodies the saying that the splendid, upon reaching its highest level, turns into the natural. It teaches later painters without saying a word. Quietly seeking enlightenment for ten years, Master Wang Shigu [Wang Hui] finally felt his mind clear and was able to understand subtlety in the application of color. I saw the way in which he applied ink washes and colors. It could really make the ancients sing and smile wholeheartedly. There has been no one [like him] in the last three hundred years. This handscroll is painted entirely with Zhao's method. Indeed, Zhao had synthesized the styles of various masters and could almost reach the divine. One cannot bypass Zhao and go elsewhere. In the early summer of the *gengshen* year [1680], Yun Shouping from Piling [Changzhou] inscribed.

青綠設色至趙吳興而一變，洗宋人刻畫之跡，運以沉深，出之妍雅，穠纖得中，靈氣洞目，



所謂絢爛之極仍歸自然，真後學無言之師。
石谷王子十年靜悟，始於用色祕妙處爽然心
開，獨契神會。觀其渲染，直欲令古人歌笑
出地，三百年所未有也。此卷全宗趙法，蓋
趙已兼眾家，擬議神明，不能舍趙而他之矣。
庚申初夏昆陵惲壽平題

INSCRIPTION WRITER'S SEALS

Nantian xiao yin 南田小隱

Shouping 壽平

Zhengshu 正叔

COLOPHONS¹

Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849)

Yun Yuding 惲毓鼎 (*jinsbi*, 1889)

COLOPHON WRITERS' SEALS

Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849)

Ruan Yuan Boyuan fu yin 阮元伯元甫印

Wenxuan Lou 文選樓

Yun Yuding 惲毓鼎 (*jinsbi*, 1889)

COLLECTORS' SEALS

Unidentified

Zhang Renfu yin 張仁黼印

PUBLISHED REFERENCE

Zhongguo huihua quanji 1997–, vol. 24 (2000),
pp. 44–47, pls. 46–49

1. This information is taken from *Zhongguo huihua quanji* 1997–,
vol. 24 (2000), p. 14, pls. 46–49. Complete images of the
colophons and seals are currently unavailable.

19

Wang Hui (1632–1717)

Layered Rivers and Tiered Peaks

重江疊嶂

Chongjiang diezhang

Dated 1684

Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 20 1/4 in. x
61 ft. 6 1/4 in. (51.1 cm x 18.7 m)

Shanghai Museum

ARTIST'S INSCRIPTION AND SIGNATURE

(4 columns in standard script)

On the fifteenth day of the fourth [lunar] month in
the *shangyuan jiazi* year [May 28, 1684], I was by the
Qinhuai River [in present-day Nanjing].¹ The lovely
scenery of Zhongling [Mount Zhong], which I saw
every day, seemed to exist between my desk and
shelves. I therefore imitated the brushwork of Juran
[active ca. 960–85], mixed it with the method of
Huayuan [Fan Kuan, ca. 960–ca. 1030], and painted
Layered Rivers and Tiered Peaks. For the details of the
river village, I loosely followed Yan Wengui [active
ca. 970–1030]. As I became inspired, technique or the
lack thereof was no longer on my mind. I painted for
three months to complete it. In the past, Yifeng Daoren
[Huang Gongwang, 1269–1354] painted a handscroll
of the Fuchun Mountains. In his inscription he said it
took him seven years to complete. But I have done this
in a perfunctory manner, and it goes without saying
that my brushwork and ink are far inferior. I write this
to express my shame. Shiguzi, Wang Hui, from Yushan

上元甲子結夏，秦淮河上日對鍾陵秀色如在
几格間，因追摹巨然筆，參以華原法，作重

pl. 44A,B

江疊嶂圖，而江村景物略師燕文貴。興會所
之，工拙皆忘，染翰三閱月而就。昔一峰道
人畫富春大嶺圖卷，自題云七年乃成。顧余
塗抹草率，又不特筆墨遠遜矣，書以誌愧。
虞山石谷子王翬

ARTIST'S SEALS

Wang Hui zhi yin 王翬之印

Shiguzi 石谷子

LABEL STRIP

Qianlong emperor 乾隆帝 (r. 1736–95)
(1 column in standard script)

Wang Hui's *Layered Rivers and Tiered Peaks*
The best of the divine class

王翬重江疊嶂

神品第一

INSCRIPTIONS

Qianlong emperor 乾隆帝 (r. 1736–95)
(1 horizontal line in standard script)

The finest handscroll of our dynasty and Wang Hui's
finest

國朝第一卷，王翬第一卷

(2 columns in running script)

Its supreme expression of flair and charm cannot
be precisely determined despite one's concentrated
meditation.

盡態極妍，凝神靜思而無跡焉。

(12 columns in running script)

The lovely scenery of Zhongling appears before my
table and mat.



19

The long painting done with the heart is like a grand piece of literature.

It is beyond comparison with other masters; One should know that the creator uses it to boast of his feat.

The *Layered Rivers* was done in about three months, Whereas the *[Fuchun] Mountains* took a lengthy seven years.

[The experience of] reading ten thousand books and traveling ten thousand miles

Is naturally reflected in his painting.

In the first decade of the first [lunar] month of the *guimao* year [February 2–11, 1783], the emperor inscribed.

鍾陵秀色几筵前，
心寫長圖似巨篇。
不可名家論伯仲，
當知造物藉傳宣。
重江約略成三月，

大嶺倭遲閱七年。

讀萬卷書行萬里，
發為繪事故應然。

癸卯新正上澣御題

COLOPHON

Chen Baochen 陳寶琛 (1848–1935), dated 1934
(12 columns in standard script)

Gengyan [Wang Hui] once said, “If one can build the hills and valleys of Song painters with the

brushwork of Yuan painters and enrich the work with the spiritual resonance of Tang painters, then one can achieve a Great Synthesis." This scroll was painted in Wang's middle age and with his utmost attention to probing the profound and the subtle. Even [his teachers] Fengchang [Wang Shimin, 1592–1680] and Lianzhou [Wang Jian, 1598–1677], had they seen it, would have shown their respect and acknowledged his superiority. All the more a person such as I. Yu Ling [the Qianlong emperor] designated it the finest scroll in his dynasty, which is a conclusive judgment. It was kept in the Chonghua Palace. In leisure moments until the time of his abdication, it was never far from him [as evidenced by] its eleven [sic] imperial seals. In recent years, the Imperial Consort Ronghui [1856–1933] moved into that palace and took it. She then gave it to some gentleman in her family. Surveillance Commissioner [Zhou] Xiangyun [1878–after 1934] purchased it at a high price and showed it to me. In the past I was ordered by the emperor to examine the paintings and calligraphies in the imperial collection. After the chaos in the *jiazi* year [1924] all of them were plundered, taken away in heaps. Their whereabouts can no longer be traced. I did not see this scroll when I examined the collection. Fortunately it has survived. Getting old and still hanging around, I have unexpectedly been able to see it, which is my good fortune. Xiangyun had already acquired the junior Mi's [Mi Youren's, 1074–1151] *Xiao and Xiang Rivers*. Both that scroll and this one are masterworks that were recorded in the Qing imperial catalogue [*Shiqu baoji*].² Now he will really stand out among his peers in the arts. In the fourth lunar month of the *jiaxu* year [1934], Chen Baochen from Min [Fujian Province] viewed and inscribed this at the age of eighty-seven.

耕烟有言：“以元人筆墨運宋人邱壑，而澤以唐人之氣韻，乃為大成。”此卷為其中歲聚精會神詣深造微之作。設奉常、廉州見之，當亦斂衽，嘆其謝青，何況余子。裕陵許為國朝第一卷，有定論矣。卷藏重華宮，幾暇迄內禪，未嘗離左右，鈐璽至十有一。近歲榮惠皇貴妃移居是宮，得携之，出以賜其外家某君。湘雲觀察以重金易之，舉以眎寶琛。囊奉勅檢校內府書畫，甲子之變，悉遭劫奪，担囊負篋以去，流落何許，不可究詰。此卷為向時檢閱所未及，幸而獨存，予以留滯篤老之身，無意中猶及與寓目，亦未嘗不自幸也。湘雲先得小米瀟湘圖，并此皆為寶笈殊品，誠可以雄視藝林哉。甲戌四月閩縣陳寶琛觀并識，時年八十有七。

COLOPHON WRITER'S SEALS

Chen Baochen yin 陳寶琛印
Chen Boqian 陳伯潛
Yuci qionglin renrui 御賜瓊林人瑞

COLLECTORS' SEALS

Wu Zhengzhi 吳正治 (1618–1691)
Hanyang Wu shi cang shubua yinji 漢陽吳氏藏書畫印記
Hanyang Wu shi 漢陽吳氏

Qianlong emperor 乾隆帝 (r. 1736–95)
Sanxi Tang jingjian xi 三希堂精鑒璽
Yi zisun 宜子孫
Qianlong yubi 乾隆御筆
Guxi tianzi zhi bao 古稀天子之寶
You ri zizi 猶日孜孜 (twice)
Guxi tianzi 古稀天子 (twice)
Qianlong chenban 乾隆宸翰

Wufuwudai Tang guxi tianzi bao 五福五代堂古稀天子寶

Bazheng maonian zhi bao 八題毫念之寶

Taishang huangdi zhi bao 太上皇帝之寶

Yuyi yu wu 寓意于物

Qianlong yulan zhi bao 乾隆御覽之寶

Jishi duo suo xin 即事多所欣

Bihua chunyu 筆花春雨

Shiqu baoji 石渠寶笈

Shiqu baojian 石渠寶鑒

Baoji chongbian 寶笈重編

Qianlong jianshang 乾隆鑑賞

Yangxin Dian jiancang bao 養心殿鑒藏寶

Jiaqing emperor 嘉慶帝 (r. 1796–1820)

Jiaqing yulan zhi bao 嘉慶御覽之寶

Zhou Xiangyun 周湘雲 (1878–after 1934)

Gujin Zhou shi Bao Mi Shi miji yin 古董周氏寶米室秘笈印

Unidentified

Xue An mingxin juepin 雪庵銘心絕品

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Midian zhulin Shiqu baoji xubian (1971 ed.), vol. 2, p. 1154;
Zhongguo huihua quanji 1997–, vol. 24 (2000), pp. 136–39, pls. 147–152

1. Ancient Chinese calendarians and astrologers divided a 180-year cycle into three parts: *shangyuan jiazi*, *zhongyuan jiazi*, and *xiayuan jiazi*. The terms refer to the first, the second, and the third sixty years. See *Zhongwen daidian* 1993, vol. 1, p. 310. The *shangyuan jiazi* year, being the beginning of a new 180-year cycle, is considered auspicious. It fell in 1684 during Wang Hui's lifetime.
2. *Shiqu baoji* refers to three series of catalogues of paintings and calligraphies in the Qing imperial collection, completed in 1745, 1793, and 1816, respectively.

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pls. 13, 25

Wang Hui (1632–1717)

Landscape after Wu Zhen's "Mountain Passes on a Clear Autumn Day"

倣吳鎮關山秋霽

Fang Wu Zhen Guanshan qiuji

Dated 1686

Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 85 x 44 ¾ in. (215.9 x 113.8 cm)

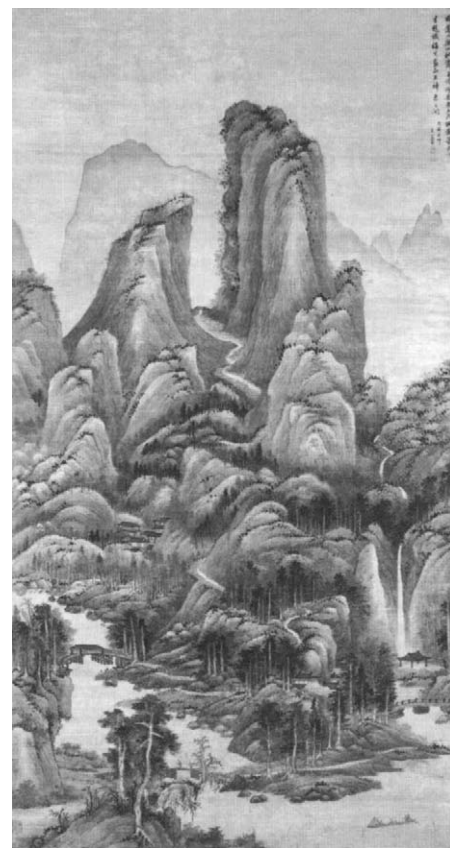
Palace Museum, Beijing

ARTIST'S INSCRIPTION AND SIGNATURE

(3 columns in standard script)

The large painting by the Plum Daoist [Mei Daoren (Wu Zhen, 1280–1354)], *Mountain Passes on a Clear Autumn Day*, is in the collection of the Wang family in Loudong [Taicang]. It has an inscription by Dong Zongbo [Dong Qichang, 1555–1636], saying that it ranks between the divine and the untrammelled classes of painting. In the midwinter of the *bingyin* year [1686], Wang Hui from Yushan

梅道人關山秋霽巨幀為婁東王氏所藏，董宗伯有題識，稱其畫品在神逸之間。丙寅冬仲虞山王翬



ARTIST'S SEALS

Wang Hui zhi yin 王翬之印
Shiguzi 石谷子

COLLECTORS' SEALS

Unidentified
Hanlu Zhai jinsbi shubua yin 漢鹿齋金石書畫印
[Yang?] shi jianshang zhi zhang 陽□氏鑑賞之章

PUBLISHED REFERENCE

Zhongguo huihua quanji 1997–, vol. 24 (2000), p. 63, pl. 70

21

pl. 45

Wang Hui (1632–1717)

A Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines
千巖萬壑

Qianyan wanhuo

Dated 1693

Hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper, 100 x 40 ½ in. (254.1 x 103 cm)

National Palace Museum, Taipei

ARTIST'S INSCRIPTION AND SIGNATURE

(4 columns in standard script)

Moss on rocks, mist above water,
Rustling sound in front of the temple gate.
A thousand peaks and myriad ravines spread out,
While flower petals drift into the heavenly caves.

In the fourth [lunar] month of the *guiyou* year [1693] in my lodging in the capital, I used the methods of Dong Yuan [active 930s–60s] and Juran [active ca. 960–85] to express the idea of a Tang poem in this painting. The Man of Mount Wumu [Wumu Shanzhongren], Shigu, Wang Hui¹



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石上苔蘚水上煙，
潺湲聲在觀門前。
千巖萬壑分流去，
更引飛花入洞天。

歲次癸酉四月，長安客舍，用董巨法寫唐人詩意。烏目山中人石谷王翬

ARTIST'S SEALS

Taiyuan 太原
Wang Hui zhi yin 王翬之印
Gengyan sanren 耕煙散人
Shiguzi 石谷子

Yi zai danqiu huangbe baishi qingteng zhi jian 意在丹丘黃雀白石青藤之間

INSCRIPTION

Qianlong emperor 乾隆帝 (r. 1736–95), dated 1757
(7 columns in running script)

Sunshine illuminates layers of peaks and hovers over green mist;

His spirit enters the painting before it is done.
Empty forest, pillared pavilion, banners quiet in the wind,
Such is the realm of ultimate enlightenment.
The emperor inscribed in the *dingchou* year [1757].

日照層峰翠煙，
精神入在構圖前。
空林阿閣風幡靜，
便是四禪天上天。
丁丑御題

INSCRIPTION WRITER'S SEAL

Qianlong 乾隆 (double seal)

COLLECTORS' SEALS

Qianlong emperor 乾隆帝 (r. 1736–95)
Qianlong yulan zhi bao 乾隆御覽之寶
Qianlong jianshang 乾隆鑑賞
Shiqu baoji 石渠寶笈
Yi zisun 宜子孫
Sanxi Tang jingjian xi 三希堂精鑒璽
Shiqu dingjian 石渠定鑒
Baoji chongbian 寶笈重編
Lesbou Tang jianchang bao 樂壽堂鑒藏寶
Guxi tianzi 古希天子
Wufuwuda Tang guxi tianzi bao 五福五代堂古稀天子寶
Bazheng maonian zhi bao 八徵耄念之寶
Taishang huangdi zhi bao 太上皇帝之寶

Xuantong emperor 宣統帝 (r. 1909–11)
Xuantong yulan zhi bao 宣統御覽之寶

Unidentified

Shuangxi 雙溪

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Gugong shubua lu 1956, vol. 2, chap. 5, pp. 450–51; Wang Hui hualu 1970, pp. 87–88, no. 24; Gugong shubua tulu 1989–, vol. 10 (1992), p. 135

1. The poem transcribed is “Flowing Stream at the Dongling Temple” by Li Ying (*jinsi*, 856).

22

Wang Hui (1632–1717)

Spring Morning at Swallow Cliff

燕磯春曉

Yanji chunxiao

Ca. 1690–1700

Handscroll, ink and light color on silk, 15 ½ x 79 ¼ in. (39.4 x 201.3 cm)

Joseph A. Skinner Museum, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts

pl. 46

ARTIST'S INSCRIPTION AND SIGNATURE

(2 columns in running-standard script)

Spring Morning at Swallow Cliff

Painted by the Woodcutter at Sword Gate [Jian Men Qiaoke], Wang Hui.

燕磯春曉

劍門樵客王翬畫

ARTIST'S SEALS

Shigu 石谷

Wang Hui zhi yin 王翬之印

COLLECTORS' SEALS

Wang Shu 王澐 (1668–1743)

Ruolin cengguan 若林曾觀

Dong Gao 董誥 (1740–1818)

Fuchun Dong shi shoucang shubua ji 富春董氏收藏書畫記

Weng Tonghe 翁同龢 (1830–1904)

Weng Tonghe yin 翁同龢印

Shuping huajian 叔平畫鑑

Junzhai shoucang 均齋收藏

Unidentified

[Fu long xian xun 服龍咸勳?]

Baoqin Tang shubua yin 寶勤堂書畫印

Cai Weigong zhenwan 蔡魏公珍玩

Jiubu Ge zhu 救虎閣主

Pingjie jianshang zhi zhang 平階鑑賞之章

Shi sheng zhencang 石生珍藏

Xue Hong shending [—] 薛鴻審定□□

[—] jianshang □□鑑賞

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Young 1973, pp. 78, 189–90, no. 55; Harris 1984, p. 85

23

pls. 47–51, 57

Wang Hui (1632–1717) and assistants

The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour, Scroll Three: Jinan to Mount Tai

康熙南巡圖卷三，濟南至泰山

Kangxi nanxun, juan san: Jinan zhi Taishan

Datable to 1698

Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 26 ¾ in. x 45 ft.

8 ¾ in. (67.8 cm x 13.9 m)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, The Dillon Fund Gift, 1979 (1979.5)

NO ARTIST'S INSCRIPTION OR SIGNATURE

LABEL STRIP

Unidentified

(1 column in standard script, affixed to the brocade flap)



22



23

Scroll Number Three of the Illustrations of the Tour of the South, from Jinan Prefecture to Tai'an Township, and the performance of the ceremony on Mount Tai

南巡圖第三卷，從濟南府經泰安州致禮泰山

FRONTISPIECE

(8 columns in standard script)

The third scroll respectfully depicts His Majesty during his stopover in Jinan, when he ascended the city wall to make his inspection. The entire populace raised their hands to their foreheads in salutation and rejoiced to behold the imperial countenance. Next, the imperial procession traveled on by mountain roads until it arrived at Tai'an Prefecture. His Majesty then specially led all of the officials in his retinue in a ceremony to honor Mount Tai. At that time, the spirit of the mountain manifested auspicious signs: the serried peaks stood forth and the cloud-cloaked trees presented an elegant scene, while the elders of Tai'an filled the streets with song and dance. The grandeur of Mount Tai, with the incredible winding mountain paths of this area of Lu, is only roughly sketched here in "red and green";

regrettably, we lack the ability to describe even a minute part of its magnificence.¹

第三卷敬圖皇上蒞止濟南，登城巡閱，萬姓咸舉手加額，喜觀天顏。於是法從遶還由山路達泰安州。皇上特率扈從諸臣致禮於泰山。維時嶽靈効祥，峰巒聳立，雲樹騰秀。泰安父老歌舞充途。若夫岱宗之崇高，魯地之曲折，雖粗具丹青，愧未能狀其毫末也。

SITE NAMES INSCRIBED ON PAINTING

Jinan Prefecture City 濟南府城
Kaishan Temple 開山廟
Zhangxia 章夏
Mount Tai 泰山
Tai'an Township 泰安州
Mengyin District 蒙陰縣

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Julia K. Murray in Metropolitan Museum 1979, pp. 85–86; Fong and Hearn 1981–82, pp. 64–69, no. 48; Hearn 1988; Hearn 1990; Hearn 2009

1. Translation by Maxwell K. Hearn.

24 pls. 52A–E, 53–56

Wang Hui (1632–1717) and assistants
The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour,
Scroll Seven: Wuxi to Suzhou

康熙南巡圖卷七，無錫至蘇州

Kangxi nanxun, juan qi: Wuxi zhi Suzhou

Datable to 1698

Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 26 ¾ in. x 72 ft. ½ in. (67.8 cm x 21.9 m)

Mactaggart Art Collection, University of Alberta
Museums, University of Alberta, Edmonton

NO ARTIST'S INSCRIPTION OR SIGNATURE

LABEL STRIP

Unidentified

(1 column in standard script, affixed to the brocade flap)

Scroll Number Seven of the Illustrations of the Tour of the South, from Wuxi to Suzhou

南巡圖第七卷，自無錫縣駐蹕蘇州府

(13 columns in standard script)

The seventh scroll respectfully depicts His Majesty's travels from Wuxi through Hushuguan to the Chang Gate of Suzhou, where, seeing the throngs of people crowding the streets and narrow waterways, he specially reduced the size of the honor guard [accompanying him] into the city. Officials, gentry, and commoners, even white-haired old men and small children, all were moved by the emperor's great favor; happily beating drums, burning incense, and hanging up bunting, they prostrated themselves on both sides of the streets to welcome him. The emperor's stop-over gave them a chance to behold [the personification of] a flourishing age; the sincerity of their love for him was clearly visible. Again and again, the people detained the emperor, offering him wine and fruit and singing hymns of praise. In painting this picture, it has been difficult to convey all these details. This is because our emperor has compassion for the people of Wu, remitting taxes, canceling rents, and so much more, thereby creating boundless goodwill in people's hearts. As for the fact that on a small prominence on Tiger Hill the people erected a pavilion to commemorate his largess and wish him longevity, it was also recorded [in this painting] with brush and silk.¹

第七卷敬國皇上自無錫縣經潯墅關駕莅蘇州之閶門，見人民繁囂，街衢湫隘，特簡儀從入城，縉紳士庶以及白叟黃童無不感沐深恩，歡欣鼓舞，焚香結綵，夾道踴迎。雖幸往來駐蹕得觀堯天，而愛戴之誠倍深踴躍，懇留法從，至再至三，一時擎漿獻果呼嵩頌德之情繪圖難盡。此皆我皇上軫念吳民，蠲賦除租，有加無已，浹洽於人心所致也。若夫虎丘一阜，萬姓建亭紀盛，恭祝萬壽，並施之毫素云。

SITE NAMES INSCRIBED ON PAINTING

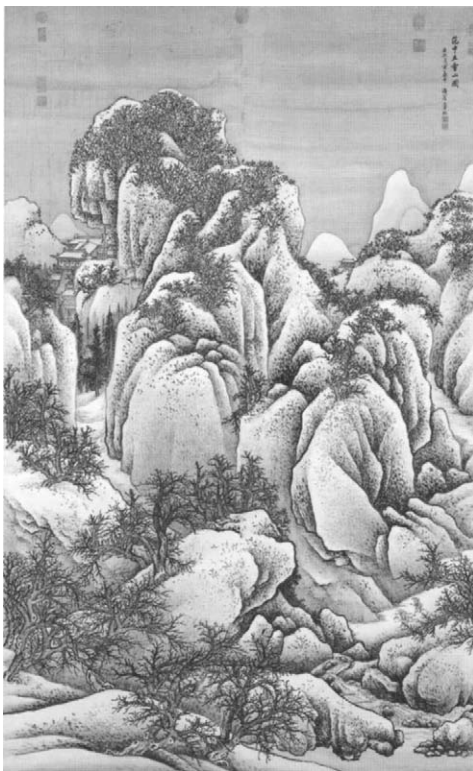
Fangsheng Chi 放生池
Jiulong Shan 九龍山
Qin Yuan 秦園
Huishan Si 惠山寺
Xi Shan 錫山
Huangpodun 黃婆墩
Wuxi Xian 無錫縣
Yaotou 窑頭
Xin'an 新安
Wangting 望亭
Hushuguan 潯墅關
Wenchang Ge 文昌閣
Shedu 射瀆
Feng Qiao 楓橋
Hanshan Si 寒山寺
Bantang Si 半塘寺
Guandi Dian 關帝殿
Shantang 山塘
Zhenzhuo Qiao 斟酌橋
Hu Qiu 虎丘
Qianren Shi 千人石
Guhe Jian 古鶴澗
Diantou Shi 點頭石
Wanshou Ting 萬壽亭
Daxiong Baodian 大雄寶殿
Jian Chi 劍池
Suzhou Fu Chang Men 蘇州府閶門
Huangli Fang 黃鸝坊
Gao Qiao 皋橋

Miluo Ge 彌羅閣
Yuanmiao Guan 圓妙觀
Zhizao Fu 織造府

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Heilesen 1980a; Heilesen 1980b; Moss 1984, pp. 76–81, no. 18; *Day on the Grand Canal* 1988; Hearn 1988, pp. 110, 121–22, figs. 4, 10, 11; Hearn 1990; Hearn 2005, pp. 80–82, figs. 3a–d

1. Translation by Maxwell K. Hearn.



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pl. 23

Wang Hui (1632–1717)
Landscape after Fan Kuan's "Snowy Mountains"
臨范寬雪山

Lin Fan Kuan Xueshan

Dated 1698

Hanging scroll, ink and light color on silk, 73 3/4 x 45 1/2 in. (187.7 x 115.5 cm)

National Palace Museum, Taipei

ARTIST'S INSCRIPTION AND SIGNATURE
(2 columns in standard script)

Snowy Mountains by Fan Zhongli [Fan Kuan, ca. 960–ca. 1030]
In the *jiaping* [twelfth lunar] month of the *wuyin* year [1698] during the Kangxi reign, Wang Hui from Haiyu [Yushan] copied.

范中立雪山圖
康熙戊寅嘉平海虞王翬臨

ARTIST'S SEALS

Shigu 石谷
Wang Hui zhi yin 王翬之印

COLLECTORS' SEALS

Qianlong emperor 乾隆帝 (r. 1736–95)
Gaozong Chunhuangdi baoxi 高宗純皇帝寶璽
Qianlong yulan zhi bao 乾隆御覽之寶
Qianlong jianshang 乾隆鑑賞
Shiqu baoji 石渠寶笈
Yi zisun 宜子孫
Sanxi Tang jingjian xi 三希堂精鑒璽

Jiaqing emperor 嘉慶帝 (r. 1796–1820)
Jiaqing jianshang 嘉慶鑑賞
Jiaqing yulan zhi bao 嘉慶御覽之寶
Baoji sanbian 寶笈三編

Xuantong emperor 宣統帝 (r. 1909–11)
Xuantong yulan zhi bao 宣統御覽之寶

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Gugong shubua lu 1956, vol. 2, chap. 5, p. 458; Wang Hui hualu 1970, pp. 103–4, no. 30; Gugong shubua tulu 1989–, vol. 10 (1992), pp. 105–6; Xu Bangda and Xue Yongnian 1999, pl. 42

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pl. 24

Wang Hui (1632–1717)
Dense Snow on the Mountain Pass
關山密雪
Guanshan mixue

Undated

Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 47 3/4 x 32 in. (121.3 x 81.3 cm)

National Palace Museum, Taipei

ARTIST'S INSCRIPTION AND SIGNATURE
(1 column in standard script) [spurious]

Xu Daoning's [ca. 970–ca. 1052] study of *Dense Snow on the Mountain Pass* by Li Xianxi [Li Cheng, 919–967]

許道寧學李咸熙關山密雪圖



COLLECTORS' SEALS

Huizong emperor 徽宗 (r. 1101–25)

Zhenghe 政和 [spurious]

Zhangzong emperor 章宗 (r. 1190–1208)

Mingchang yulan 明昌御覽 [spurious]

Shen Zhou 沈周 (1427–1509)

Shen Zhou baowan 沈周寶玩 [spurious]

Qi'nan 啟南

Hua Xia 華夏 (ca. 1465–1566)

Hua Bu'an shi 華補菴氏 [spurious]

Liu Bingtu 劉炳圖 (seventeenth century?)

Liu Bingtu yin 劉炳圖印

Bian Yongyu 卞永譽 (1645–1712)

Bian Lingzhi jiangding 卞令之鑒定

Lingzhi 令之

Xianke 仙客

Shigu Tang 式古堂

Shigu Tang shubua yin 式古堂書畫印

Shigu Tang shubua 式古堂書畫

Qianlong emperor 乾隆帝 (r. 1736–95)

Qianlong yulan zhi bao 乾隆御覽之寶

Shiqu baoji 石渠寶笈

Yushufang jiancang bao 御書房鑒藏寶

Jiaqing emperor 嘉慶帝 (r. 1796–1820)

Jiaqing yulan zhi bao 嘉慶御覽之寶

Xuantong emperor 宣統帝 (r. 1909–11)

Xuantong yulan zhi bao 宣統御覽之寶

Xuantong jianshang 宣統鑒賞

Wuyi Zhai jingjian xi 無逸齋精鑒璽

PUBLISHED REFERENCE

Gugong shubua tulu 1989–, vol. 1 (1989), p. 187

27

pl. 26

Wang Hui (1632–1717)

Landscape after Wang Meng's "Travelers amid Autumn Mountains"

臨王蒙秋山行旅

Lin Wang Meng Qiushan xinglü

Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 23 3/8 x 10 1/2 in. (58.7 x 26.7 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Lent by the P. Y. and Kinmay W. Tang Family Collection (L.2007.13)

NO ARTIST'S SIGNATURE OR INSCRIPTION

ARTIST'S SEALS

Wang Hui zhi yin 王翬之印

Shiguzi 石谷子



COLOPHONS

Zhang Daqian 張大千 (1899–1983), dated 1945

(6 columns in running script)

A genuine work of Shiguzi's [Wang Hui's] copy of Wang Shuming's [Wang Meng's, 1308–1385] imitation of Dong Yuan's [active 930s–60s] *Travelers amid Autumn Mountains*. In the *jiaping* [twelfth lunar] month of the *yiyou* year [1945] at Lake Kunming, Daqian Zhang Yuan inscribed.

石谷子臨王叔明做董源秋山行旅圖真跡

乙酉嘉平月昆明湖題，大千張爰

Huang Binhong 黃賓虹 (1865–1955), dated 1945

(3 columns in running script)

Wang Qinghui [Wang Hui] used the brushwork of Yuan painters to build mountains and valleys [in the style] of the Tang and Song periods. In this work, mountains and streams are round and full, while grass and trees are resplendent and lush.¹ Though copied from Huanghe Shanqiao's [Wang Meng's] painting, it actually captures the spirit of Dong Beiyuan [Dong Yuan]. It was because, by studying a wide range of ancient masters, he was well grounded in the tradition. Those who examine this painting should treasure it with great care. In the early spring of the *yiyou* year [1945], Huang Binhong inscribed.

王清暉畫以元人筆墨，運唐宋丘壑。此幀山川渾厚，草木華滋，雖臨摹黃鶴山樵，其實得董北苑遺意，為多從古名家，溯源有自。鑒者宜什襲珍之。乙酉初春黃賓虹題

Yang Gengu 楊根谷 (active first half twentieth century), dated 1945

(4 columns in running script)

Zhang Qiaoye [Zhang Yinhuai, d. 1900] had a hundred-odd paintings by Shigu [Wang Hui] in his collection. He acquired *Shouldering a Spear* after losing his fortune, which presaged his future exile to the frontiers. His collection was dispersed after the *gengzi* year [1900]. This painting of a water village must be one of those hundred. On the Lantern Festival [the fifteenth of the first lunar month] of the *yiyou* year [February 27, 1945], Yang Gengu inscribed.

張樵野藏石谷畫有百數。窮來獲荷戈圖，果符遭戍之兆。庚子後所藏皆散出，此幅水村圖殆百中之一也。乙酉燈節楊根谷題

Wang Rong 汪溶 (1896–1972)

(4 columns in running script)

Wang Yanke [Wang Shimin, 1592–1680] once commented that Shiguzi's [Wang Hui's] painting was the best in the world. Such was his admiration! In this work I am viewing, within the rather limited picture space the scenery encompasses a thousand miles. It was actually accomplished by delving into the quintessence of the art of Dong Yuan and Juran [active ca. 960–85], unlike anything commonly seen. Out of adoration, I inscribed a few remarks for its owner. Manchuan Wang Rong

王烟客論石谷子畫道甲天下，其推崇若此。今觀此幀尺幅之間，境在千里，實從董巨伐毛洗髓得來，非尋常所見者可比擬也。愛慕之餘，爰題數字以歸之。滿川汪溶

COLOPHON WRITERS' SEALS

Zhang Daqian 張大千 (1899–1983)

Zhang Yuan zhi yin 張爰之印

Daqian 大千

Huang Binhong 黃賓虹 (1865–1955)

Huang Binhong 黃賓虹

Yang Gengu 楊根谷 (active first half twentieth century)

Guo Yuan 過園

Wang Rong 汪溶 (1896–1972)

Shensheng changshou 慎生長壽

Wang Rong shubua 汪溶書畫

COLLECTORS' SEALS

Zhou Huaimin 周懷民 (1906–1996)

Zhou shi Huaimin jiancang 周氏懷民鑒藏

Guo Chunpu 郭春浦 (active second half twentieth century)

Chunpu zhencang 春浦珍藏

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Fong 1999, p. 46 and p. 44, fig. 37; Levenson 2007, p. 314, no. c-30

1. Translation of this line quoted from Whitfield 1969, p. 103.

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